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### ALBERT D. MENUT. Ph. D.

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# The Semantics of Doublets studied in Old and Middle French



CARRANZA & COMPANY New York, 1922

# THE SEMANTICS OF DOUBLETS

studied in

#### OLD AND MIDDLE FRENCH

by

ALBERT DOUGLAS MENUT

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Philosophy,

Columbia University.

NEW YORK 1922

FIRMSTA AMIAFERURA CORMETE A520735

# TO MY PARENTS, VHO HAVE MADE MY STUDIES POSSIBLE.

The following study has been accepted by the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures of Columbia University as an original and useful contribution to scholarship.

H. A. TODD.

August, 1922.

#### PREFACE

As an undergraduate at the University of Michigan, the author's interest in the subject of Semantics was aroused by the study of Bréal's Essai de sémantique and Wundt's Völkerpsychologie, which were read in a course in general linguistics given under the supervision of Professor Clarence L. Meader. Some time later, while in quest of a subject for a doctoral dissertation, the author received from Professor H. A. Todd, of Columbia University, the suggestion that he investigate the problem of the semantics of doublets in the Romance languages. Upon investigation, it was found that the semantics of French doublets had already been treated in a dissertation. Über die Bedeutungsentwicklung der Scheidewörter des französischen, by Ewald Thomsen, Kiel, 1800. The brevity of that work, however, and the notable advance which has been made in etymplogical studies in recent years seemed to warrant a further canvassing of the subject. The present volume is an attempt to present the case in the light of sound and recent methods of linguistic investigation.

At the outset it was intended to cover the semantics of Romance doublets in general; but it early became evident that the attempt to make a study of the entire field was too ambitious an undertaking and would involve too long a period of research. The study was accordingly

limited to French doublets, and even here it seemed best to restrict the investigation to words appearing textually in the period preceding 1530, and to concentrate attention upon those groups which upon actual experiment were found to be most interesting and instructive in their semantic development. The practical classification of doublets here presented (namely, according to the various sources — ecclesiastical, legal, etc. — from which they were introduced into the language) was arrived at independently by the present author. It was, in a sense, a gratifying corroboration of the author's method to discover later that a similar plan had been adopted by a German doctoral candidate, Hans Keck, whose dissertation on a kindred subject. Die lateinischen lehnwortlichen Substantiva (Konkreta) im neufranzösichen, Darmstadt, 1917, appeared some time before the inception of the present work, but owing to the vicissitudes of intercommunication during and immediately after the World War was not obtainable in this country until recently.

To reach a thoroughly satisfactory working definition of the term doublets proved to be a knotty problem, which was at last solved with only a relative degree of accuracy. Another investigator might have found it desirable to approach the subject from quite a different angle. The author's preference for the historical rather than the psychological approach to the solution of semantic problems will probably meet with little objection on the part of philologists, who, it would appear, are in the main agreed that it is better to await further development of the science

of psychology before attempting to apply psychological methods to the study of semantics.

It is hoped that the introduction, as an appendix, of a fairly complete word-list of French doublets etymologically as nearly accurate as possible, will be of general usefulness to those interested in the subject.

Without the scholarly advice and unfailing interest of Professor H. A. Todd, of Columbia University, this work would doubtless long since have been consigned to the limbo of unrealized ambitions. For this sympathetic guidance the author wishes to express deep indebtedness. Professors J. L. Gerig and Federico de Onís have given valuable suggestions concerning the treatment of the subject, and have aided in many details of the bibliography. To Visiting Professor Anatole Chamard and to Professors Raymond Weeks and Dino Bigongiari the author owes grateful recognition for painstaking and fruitful criticism of the text. Professors R. H. Fife and A. J. Barnouw have kindly assisted with elucidation of the Germanic etymologies involved. The author's colleague, Mr. E. M. Bowman has kindly aided in the correcting of the proofs.

NEW YORK CITY,

August, 1922.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

A. L. L.	Archiv für	Lateinisc	he Lexico	grap	hie.	
Brunot	Ferdinand	Brunot,	Histoire	de	la	Langue
	française	?				

A. Gl. It. Archivio Glottologico Italiano.

G. Frédéric Godefroy, Lexique de l'ancien français.

H. D. T. Hatzfeld, Darmesteter and Thomas, *Dictionnaire général de la Langue française* (5th edition, 1920).

M-L. Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch.

N. Nyrop, Grammaire historique de la Langue française.

R. Romania.

W. Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, E. Wölfflin editus.

Z. r. Ph. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie.

### THE SEMANTICS OF DOUBLETS STUDIED IN OLD AND MIDDLE FRENCH

#### INTRODUCTION

#### I. — HISTORICAL

The term 'doublet' is commonly employed to designate each of the members, in a given language, of a group of two or more words having the same etymological origin or etymon; e.g., août, auguste; blâmer, blasphémer.

The study of doublets, as thus understood, began in the seventeenth century. Their presence in French must, one would suppose, have been detected by Ménage (1613-1692)<sup>1</sup>, an etymologist of surprising range and penetration for his time, as is evidenced by his *Origines de la langue française* (Paris, 1650). However, in his printed works, there is no reference to doublets. The word 'doublet' itself, as well as the idea connoted by it, appears for the first time, so far as known, in the unique and ingenious treatise of one Nicholas Catherinot, "avocat du roi et son conseiller au présidial de Bourges," published at Bourges in 1683 and bearing the title *Les Doublets de la langue française*. In this work the author claims to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> According to several critics it was Ménage who is satirized by Molière in the *Femmes Savantes*, where he appears as "Vadius" (Act III, sc. 3).

be the discoverer of "doublets," of which he has collected 468 examples, exhibiting in his attempted etymologies the very limited knowledge of philology common to his age. A few examples reproduced from the list of Catherinot will serve to illustrate some of the entertaining and surprising peculiarities of his point of view. Thus, according to Catherinot,

Lat.	BATTUERE	gives	battre and tuer
"	CABALLICARE	"	chevaucher and galoper
"	ORNARE	"	orner, fournir and garnir
"	PETRA	"	pierre and bière
"	VERRUCA	"	verrue and roche

In commenting upon Catherinot's work, Brachet, in his *Dictionnaire des doublets*,<sup>2</sup> states that he has had occasion to reject 308 of his predecessor's examples. Of the 160 retained by Brachet, it has been found desirable for various reasons, in the present study, to discard in turn a considerable number.

Catherinot's characterization of doublets is worthy of being quoted here:

"J'appelle doublets les diverses traductions du même nom... Cette recherche servira pour entendre les origines, les différences et les énergies des mots, et à quelques autres usages; enfin c'est une curiosité."

In point of fact, his work has proved especially valuable in stimulating that same *curiosité* in others.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Auguste Brachet (1844-1898) Dictionnaire des Doublets français. Paris, 1868-71.

<sup>3</sup> Catherinot seems to have been a prolific writer of opuscules on varied subjects, principally on questions of law and on history.

It may be said, in general, that the eighteenth century was satisfied to accept the philological data and opinions of its predecessor. With the exception of the brilliant article by Turgot in the *Encyclopédie*—a premonition of the future development of philological science—little advance was made by the grammarians and lexicographers of the *siècle de raison*, who for the most part were contented to remodel, or rather to reproduce, the dictionaries of the preceding century. Serious interest in the direction of lexicology and lexicography was destined to await the appearance, in the first half of the next century, of the epoch-marking studies of the brothers Grimm, Raynouard, Diez and Egger.

Beginning with a brief study of Latin doublets by Michel Bréal\* in 1867, the years following saw the publication of various works (in several languages) on the subject of doublets. In 1868, as noted, Brachet published his well-known *Dictionnaire des doublets*—the first important contribution to the study of the subject and the probable inspiration of subsequent studies.<sup>5</sup> Of these later contributions, that of Carolina Michaëlis is most voluminous, providing a catalogue fairly complete for French, Spanish and Portuguese.<sup>6</sup> In 1878, Canello<sup>7</sup> published a list of Italian

Studien zur Romanischen Wortschöpfung; Leipzig, 1876. In

The mention of his works occupies some seven pages in the Catalogue général de la Bibliothèque Nationale, vol. 24. The opuscle on doublets is there given as consisting of 12 pages in quarto, dated Sept. 15, 1683.

Michel Bréal, Les doublets latins, in Mémoires de Linguisti-

que. Vol. i, p. 162-70. Paris, 1867.

<sup>6</sup> Brachet's etymologies depend largely upon Diez' Etymologisches Wörterbuch and are usually satisfactory.

doublets, and Behaghel<sup>8</sup> a study of German doublets. All of these treatises concern themselves chiefly with the phonetic development of the forms; for the present day their most valuable feature is the lists which they contain. As for English doublets their compilation was first undertaken by Professor W. W. Skeat in his Etymological Dictionary (1888). Carefully considered additions to his list have been made by Professor E. W. Sheldon in Webster's International Dictionary (edition of 1895 and following editions) and by E. A. Allen, in the Publications of the Modern Language Association.<sup>9</sup>

The essential characteristic of doublets is that each member of the group possesses semantic individuality—that is, a connotation differing to some extent from that of its etymological congener. In fact, when no difference of meaning exists, it will be discovered that the group does not constitute a pair of doublets but merely exhibits orthographical variation.<sup>10</sup> The purely external form of the words involved is less important than their meaning. In order to establish the existence of a relationship be-

this work, a copy of Brachet's list is incorporated with additional groups, much less accurate, by the author. The list of Portuguese doublets is a copy of the work of Coelho, first published in *Romania* ii, 281-90 (1873). The list of Spanish doublets is original and still remains the only work of its kind dealing with that language.

A. Gl. It., iii, 285-419. Gli Allótropi Italiani.

<sup>8</sup> O. Behaghel; Die Neuhochdeutschen Zwillingswörter. Germania, xxiii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Pub. Modern Lang. Association; xxiii, pp. 185 ff. (1908).

<sup>10</sup> Paul, Principien der Sprachgeschichte ii, 210; calls groups like beau, bel; mou, mol; etc., phonetic doublets of euphony.

tween the words investigated, it is necessary to determine their common etymology, and only through acquaintance with the phonetic development of the forms can this be accomplished. Semantics, then, as a science is very largely dependent upon the establishment of an accurate knowledge of the phonology of a given language. Thus only can we hope to discover the underlying laws governing the development of meanings in the language.

In reviewing Bréal's Essai de Sémantique,<sup>11</sup> Professor Antoine Thomas thus expresses himself upon this basic consideration:<sup>12</sup>

"Or, il faut le proclamer bien haut, un essai de sémantique n'est possible dans une langue que quand la phonétique historique de cette langue est connue à fond. La phonétique est la base indispensable de la sémantique, comme de la linguistique même, et toute spéculation qui ne se fondera pas sur elle ne sera qu'un aimable jeu d'esprit sans portée scientifique."

It was both natural and necessary that philologists should apply themselves first of all to the formulation of definite phonetic principles. Three generations of scholars have dedicated themselves to the perfecting of the science of etymology, and much yet remains to be accomplished.

William Dwight Whitney, writing in 1875 in his Life and Growth of Language, pointed out the lack of attention thus far given to the study of the science of significations. "No one has yet tried to classify the processes of significant change." His own work shows how keen was his

Michel Bréal, Essai de Semantique. Paris, 1897, 5th ed. 1921.
 Essais de Philologie française; p. 170. Paris, 1897.

interest in the subject. The attention of philologists was even more forcibly turned toward the study of semantics by the publication, in 1877, of Darmesteter's Création actuelle des mots nouveaux dans la Langue française et les lois que la régissent. In the well-known Vie des Mots, by the same author, the science was established upon a secure basis. Shortly after the publication of the latter work (1888) there appeared the only study hitherto devoted exclusively to the semantics of doublets: Ueber die Bedeutungsentwickelung der Scheidewörter des Französischen, inaugural dissertation by E. Thomsen (Kiel, 1890). This work, consisting of sixty pages, is of insufficient compass to admit of an adequate treatment of the subject. The conclusions arrived at are based upon generalizations which in no wise exhaust the varied and complex problems involved. Moreover, our etymological knowledge has been greatly enriched since the appearance of Thomsen's study. Thomsen was not provided with the solid historical background furnished by the Dictionnaire général nor the secure etymological basis furnished by Meyer-Lübke's Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch; while to Bréal<sup>13</sup> we owe the formulation of a method and the exposition of definite tendencies upon which to base more detailed analysis. Recent interest in the subject of semantics is shown to have been keen by the fact that in 1914 Collin found it possible to list

<sup>19</sup> Since the publication of Bréal's Essai de Sémantique, the advance of the science of semantics has been rapid. It was at Bréal's suggestion that the older terms 'sematology' and 'semasiology' were definitely supplanted by the simpler 'semantics'.

over three hundred titles of books and articles dealing with the general subject.<sup>14</sup>

For the study of the development of meanings of words it is essential to trace the history and use of the words investigated from their beginnings in the early texts and follow their development through the centuries. Being limited to a study of written documents, we promptly become aware of the inadequacy of the recorded examples. Darmesteter discussed the situation as follows (Dictionnaire général, Intro., p. xviii):

"Ce travail serait moins ardu si l'on avait depuis l'origine du français des exemples de tous les mots avec leur emploi aux différentes époques de la langue; on retrouverait avec certitude, dans cette succession de textes, la marche suivie par la pensée; on pourrait noter le moment où a commencé telle ou telle transformation. Malheureusement, nous ne possédons qu'une très faible partie des documents écrits au moyen âge; l'absence de textes depuis les origines jusqu'au IX<sup>me</sup> siècle, leur rareté du IX<sup>me</sup> au XII<sup>me</sup> siècle laissent une lacune considérable dans l'histoire de la formation de la langue... on est réduit au témoignage incomplet, irrégulier des écrits qui nous restent."

In spite of the insufficiency of the records, there remains an abundance of material from which may be drawn approximate conclusions concerning the history of words. For the study of the semantics of the French language in particular we are provided with the lexical

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Carl S. R. Collin, Bibliographical Guide to Sematology; Lund, 1914.

material of the *Dictionnaire général* and the more recent contributions in learned publications. The *Lexique de l'ancien français* of Godefroy, defective as it is in many details, is a veritable store-house of information almost untouched up to the present time by the students of semantics. Let us hope that Spanish and Italian will ere long be provided with similar resources for research.

Since 1900, Wundt<sup>15</sup> and other eminent scholars have tried to discover the psychological processes governing the development of meanings; yet up to the present time, we are without any exhaustive and authoritative exposition of the problems involved.

To a large extent words change their meaning at the will of him who uses them, in disregard of any fixed rules that have been found to be applicable in order to establish methods or definite lines of development. The Greek and Roman grammarians, however, had early learned to analyze the various modes of semantic change; these they designated under the general term 'figures of speech': metaphor, metonymy, simile -- in short, all the so-called figures of speech. Bréal pushed the analysis still further by describing the result of the use of the word in figurative meanings, - metonymy resulted in 'pejoration,' synecdoche resulted in 'amelioration,' etc. Then the psychologists endeavored to explain the mental processes involved in metaphor and the other figures; according to them, these could all be explained on the basis of associative processes. But psychology has not determined

Wilhelm Wundt, Völkerpsychologie; vol. i, p. 541 ff. Leipzig, edition of 1911.

the limits of probable extension of meaning; it has demonstrated rather that these limits are indeterminable and not to be restricted by scientific definition. So the problems of semantics as a science wait, like history, upon the formulation of those elusive laws which men feel must exist, but which seem to lie just beyond the apprehension of the human mind. Like history, semantics remains an analytical science. Provided we have sufficient documentation we may explain the development of the meanings of a given word just as the historian explains the development of a social or political institution, pointing out the various influences which have served to produce a given result. But since the possible variation of influences or causes is infinite, it is impossible to foresee the development which will take place for any given word. The complexity of the elements involved precludes the possibility of establishing exact formulae upon which to base predictions of further developments. Those who have most insisted upon the application of psychological principles to the study of semantics have been reduced to the presentation of a large body of purely historical material, interspersed with occasional intimations to the effect that the change of meaning was due to metaphor or pejoration or to some other of the possible modes of semantic change. The small amount of emphasis laid in actual practice by the advocates of psychological methods upon the psychological problems involved, is hardly sufficient to justify the contention that "l'étude des significations est au fond et en dernière analyse une étude psychologique et logique."

(Cf. L. MacGregor, Les Principes logiques de la Sémantique. Grenoble, 1909, p. 103.)

Nevertheless, the value of the study of semantics is in no wise lessened by the restrictions within which lies the sphere of its useful application. In fact, the acknowledgement of the limitations of the science is one of the first steps necessary for the practical enlargement of our range of knowledge of the facts; and philologists were naturally first attracted to the positive branch of their science — namely, phonology — for which quite definite processes were discoverable. Since it was found to be more difficult to discover and classify the semantic processes, the study of them was for a long time unattempted.

Various reasons might be offered in explanation of this belated interest in semantics. First, the study of the latter could begin only when the knowledge of phonetics had been highly developed; second, the external form of the word, apart from its context, furnished the most natural and most obvious material for study; third, the spirit of the age favored experimental science as opposed to the more elusive problems of intuitional or historical science. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the methods of philology were improved and the field of study expanded. As a result of the increased attention given to semantics, General Linguistics appeared in the curricula of universities where the study of philology had hitherto received scanty attention. The cultural reaction was both important and wide-spread. Teachers for whom phonetics had constituted the sine qua non of instruction in the small classes of philology, found in semantics a new and

invigorating source of interest for the basic science of phonology. Of late, scholars have begun seriously to occupy themselves with the problems of semantics, as is clearly demonstrated by the rôle allotted to the subject by recent grammarians and linguistic scholars generally. (Cf. A. Meillet, Linguistique historique et linguistique générale, Rivista di Scienza, iv, 360-375. Also id.; Linguistique, in De la Méthode dans les Sciences, Paris, 1919, 2me série.) Professor Antoine Thomas was probably the first who pointed out that semantics forms a sort of metaphysical branch of philology, completing the concrete science of phonetics much after the fashion of the concept of the fourth dimension in mathematics. Philology is incomplete without it; of itself, semantics is impotent and ethereal.

#### II. - DOUBLETS DEFINED

Repeating here the brief statement set up, for convenience, at the beginning of the present study, the term 'doublet' is commonly employed to designate each of the members, in a given language, of a group of two or more words having a common etymological origin, or etymon, in another language. The constituents of a group of derivatives have ordinarily been called doublets whether the group consists of two words or of more than two; the majority of doublet groups, indeed, consist of only two terms, as the name implies. There are, however, in English and the Romance languages a number of groups consisting of three, four, five or even six terms. To call

the members of these larger groups "doublets" is somewhat infelicitous. Philologists have long recognized this, and have endeavored to amend the terminology by offering various substitutes. <sup>16</sup> None of these, however, has won general acceptance over the older expression, which has been the common designation since the seventeenth century.

What doublets really are may be succinctly indicated by the following illustrations, taken from the English language:<sup>17</sup>

from	Lat. cohortem	cohort and court
"	" FACTUM	fact and feat
"	" CAPITALE	cattle, chattel and capital
"	Anglo-Saxon UTTERA (comparative of UT	outer and utter
"	Lat. POTIONEM	poison and potion

Of greater importance than the question of terminology is that of definition. On this score there has been considerable variety of opinion. What shall we regard as constituting doublets?

A large proportion of English doublets consist of one term borrowed from the French and one directly taken over from the classical Latin; e.g., court from French cour (O.F. cort or curt) and

cohort from classical Latin COHORTEM.

the terms Dobletten, Scheidewörter, Zwillingswörter, Doppelwörter, Doppelformen, Bifurcazionen. Of these the term Scheidewörter has been most generally employed in Germany. Coelho used the phrase formas divergentes. Canello tried to introduce allotropi; Tobler, polimorfie; Egger, dittologie and dérivations divergentes. English, Spanish and Italian scholars have generally preferred the customary French form — doublet.

In his list of doublets,18 Profesor Skeat included many groups of distantly related Indo-European cognates, such as beef, cow; cell, hall; chief, head; core, heart; etc.19 The definition on which he based his classification allowed of this broad interpretation:

"Doublets are words which, though apparently different in form, are nevertheless, from an etymological point of view, one and the same, or differ only in some unimportant suffix."

By the expression "unimportant suffix" one might interpret the definition to include as doublets the variant forms of any weak verb like want, wants, wanted, since they are merely different aspects of the same etymon, varying only in an unimportant suffix. Yet no one conceives doublets to be of this nature and Professor Skeat himself would promptly have repudiated such examples. Mr. E. A. Allen,<sup>20</sup> a recent investigator of English doublets. has substituted for Skeat's vague definition the following:

"English doublets are pairs of words in the English language derived by different courses from the same base, Romanic, Teutonic, Arabic, etc."

This excludes the groups of Skeat's list consisting of

<sup>18</sup> Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language; Appendix. Oxford, 1888.

Beef < French boeuf < Latin Bos; cow < A. S. cú; both derived from an hypothetical Indo-European form \*GOU. Cell<Latin CELLUM; hall Gothic HALLUS. Chief through French from Latin CAPUT; head Gothic haput. Core from French cor (modern cœur) < Latin cor; heart from A.S. HART; both from I.E. root KRD. Cf. Latin CREDO.

20 English Doublets; in Pub. of Mod. Lang. Assoc., vol. xxxiv,

far-fetched, distantly related members, such as cow, beef; core, heart, etc., but permits the admission of terms derived form different stems of one and the same verb, e.g., spoil, spoliate, etc. A strict interpretation of Mr. Allen's definition would hardly sanction the inclusion of these forms as constituting doublets. They are not, strictly speaking. from the same base unless such forms as SPOLIARE and SPOLIATUS are to be accounted identical. The term 'base' is not unanimously understood to have the meaning which seems to be here accorded to it. However, the objection to be made is less one of terminology than of practice. If the derivatives of different verb-forms are to be considered as doublets on the basis of a close relationship, where are we to draw the line? Will insistence upon allowing only those forms which are in the strictest sense derived from the same identical etymon be considered as unduly pedantic exactness?

The most conservative attitude with regard to the nature of doublets is that taken by Herman Paul, *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*, page 210, vol. ii. (4<sup>th</sup> edition, 1909.)

"Such doublets as cause-chose, penance-penitence, bescheiden-beschieden, savant-sachant may be called pseudodoublets producing as they do the effect of differentiation but serving really as labels to designate a foreign idea or object. True doublets are those cases in which two words whose meaning we know to have been identical, have come to be accepted in different meanings, as attacher-attaquer, chaire-chaise, of-off, set up-upset. The differentiation took place within the given language and should be care-

fully differentiated from those cases in which the differentiation was made outside the language in question."

According to this definition we are to consider as doublets only those groups in which both forms are of popular origin; the large class of words comprising one learned form and one or more popular forms are by this definition ruled out. Such a view is not in keeping with the general understanding of the nature of doublets.

Existing catalogues of French doublets are, in general, open to the same criticism as those of Skeat and Allen, - viz., they include groups which are, in the exact interpretation of the term, not doublets but simply closely related words. The nature of the French language has prevented the inclusion of groups consisting of members so remotely related as Skeat's; but groups derived from etyma that are not identical are fairly common in these lists. For example: Thomsen has listed as doublets a large number of homonyms differing only in gender, e.g., un aide. une aide; un manche, une manche; un vapeur, une vapeur: un aigle, une aigle, etc. Now un manche derives from MANICUM, while une manche derives from MANICAM. The ancient meanings of the Latin have been preserved in the French derivatives. Un manche cannot be considered as a doublet of une manche since the two terms are not derived, in the strict sense, from a common etymon. Un vapeur — une vapeur present a somewhat different aspect. Although the differentiation of gender has come about within the French period and though the two terms are not traceable like un manche - une manche to different etyma, their existence is due simply to the transference

of the gender of bâteau, in the expression un bâteau à vapeur, to the word vapeur. Moreover, there is no difference of phonetic development in the two terms—a distinction of form as well as a difference of meaning being one of the essential characteristics of doublets. To admit as doublets such forms as un aide—une aide, un manche—une manche, un vapeur—une vapeur would be to confuse "doublets" with "homonyms." Such a confusion ought to be avoided by a clear and frank admission that doublets differ from homonyms in that the external forms of the terms in the doublet group are different.

Again, one sometimes finds classified as doublets such groups as gargouse-gargouche < GURGUTIA; cerche, sarche, cherche, variants of the commoner spelling cerce < CIRCEM. Orthographical variants such as these can hardly be considered as doublets or even as distinct and separate words; for they represent no distinct idea peculiar to each and their persistance in the language is only the persistence of varieties of spelling, or of regional differences of pronunciation. Should it ultimately happen, as is not infrequently the case, that these orthographical variants develop individual meanings differing ever so slightly one from the other, then it becomes permissible and indeed requisite to consider them as doublets.

Occasionally two words are mistakenly regarded as constituting a group, in which, however, one of the members is properly derived from the given etymon plus a prefix or suffix, e.g., *manche-manique*. The former term is from MANICAM, the latter not from MANICAM but from MANICULAM, through *manicle*. Or a change is notable

in the ending of the etymon, e.g., catir-cacher, the former from a posited etymon COACTIRE, the latter from a posited etymon COACTICARE. Such groups are sometimes erroneously regarded as doublets.

A far more serious problem concerning the nature of doublets presents itself in regard to the disposal to be made of groups comprising one direct derivative and one synthetic or reversionary form (Rückbildung)21 as, for example, cherté-charité; dévoyer-dévier; enquêteur-inquisiteur; etc. Cherté (by way of illustration) seems to have been formed, during the French period, from the adjective cher plus the suffix used to indicate abstract quality -té. In the same manner, dévoyer is probably a compound of dé, plus voie, plus the verbal ending -er: enquêteur is built on enquête plus the suffix of a nomen actoris in -eur. Not only is it difficult to determine accurately the words which are of this synthetic type, but it is customary on the part of certain scholars to consider such groups as doublets, provided the synthetic forms coincide with a hypothetical phonetic development of the etymon according to the laws operative within a given language; dévoyer represents the normal development of DEVIARE according to the rules of French phonology, but to consider it as a true derivative is to overlook an important historical fact in the development of the Romance languages, all of which have continued the natural process of linguistic growth, instead of remaining static in the possession of an un-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> I am indebted to Prof. R. H. Fife of Columbia University for the suggestion of "synthetic" as an equivalent for the German expression.

augmented heritage of words bequeathed them by their Roman predecessors. Words of this reversionary type should not, in my opinion, be admitted as doublets.

Evidently, the problem of determining just which related forms are true doublets can be solved only upon the basis of a definite principle scrupulously followed. The principle has been tersely propounded by Darmesteter in the Dictionnaire général under the definition of the word 'doublet': "Mot qui a la même étymologie qu'un autre mot dans la même langue." For the purpose of establishing the accurate use of the plural of the term doublet, the above might be amended to read, in English: "Doublets are the individual members of a group of two or more words in the same language, differing in external form, in which all the words or 'doublets' are derived from a single common etymon." If we confine ourselves to the exact limitations of this definition, many terms appearing in existing lists of French doublets will of necessity be excluded: viz., different orthographical forms of one and the same word; homonyms; derivatives of diminutives or augmentatives as against simplicia, or derivatives from otherwise differing etyma; - particularly, all those numerous cases that hitherto for the most part have been considered as doublets in which one member of a group is derived from one inflectional form while the other is derived from another form. Finally "synthetic" forms must be omitted whenever the development of the word can be shown to depend historically upon this process of formation. After having

thus set our house in order, there will still remain over five hundred doublet groups in the French language.

Doublets may be classified naturally under three types viz., (1) those in which both or all members of the group are of learned origin;

- (2) those in which all the terms show popular phonetic development;
- (3) those groups in which one (or more) of the terms points to a popular development while the other term (or terms) is of learned origin.

The first class of doublets is very small in number and generally of minor interest as regards the semantic history of the members of the group: paladin, palatin < PALA-TINUS; fantasque, fantastique < PHANTASTICUS; partiel partial < PARTIALIS; azimut, zénit < AL-SEMDT; etc., will serve to illustrate the type of doublets comprised in class I. The second class is much more numerous and of greater semantic interest than the first. Examples are: cingler (to forge, to lash, to cut), sangler (to beat, to gird, to web). < CINGULARE; copain, compain < COMPANIO; chaise, chaire < CATHEDRAM. Class three constitutes the commonest type of doublet group. The number of learned or of popular words in the group varies, but in the majority of cases the group consists of one popular form and one learned form. For example: heur, augure < AUGURIUM; verre, vitre < VITRUM; blâmer, blasphémer < BLASPHEMARE; etc. Although this class of doublets does not, perhaps, present individual cases of so great semantic interest as class two, nevertheless it shows a greater variety of modes of

semantic development, and of the three classes is the one that is most typical.

In this dissertation, no study of popular doublet groups (class 2) has been attempted; it was considered wiser to present a somewhat detailed study of the learned-popular type rather than to sacrifice fulness of treatment in order to include discussion of all three types.

## PART I.

## THE OLD FRENCH PERIOD

# CHAPTER I. — DOUBLETS OF ECCLESIASTICAL ORIGIN

In French, learned doublets began to appear early in the texts that have come down to us. Quite naturally, the learned influence to which they are due was, above all others, the mediaeval Church, about which all learning revolved. The language of the Church was Latin; ecclesiastical Latin was the channel through which the French language, as well as Spanish and Italian, derived its first intellectual and literary impulse. Ecclesiastical Latin was composed of two widely different elements: first, the language of exegesis, of pure theology, of controversy and philosophy; and second, the language of the service - the Bible and the Articles of Faith. The numerous translations, from the fourth to the tenth century, of portions of the Vulgate into the Latin of Gaul were followed in the succeeding centuries by the appearance, in the nascent French, of poetic versions of the lives of various Saints and ultimately, in the twelfth century, by the translation of the Book of Kings and the Psalms into Anglo-Norman. (Cf. Trenel.) The oratory incidental to the Crusades brought with it the vernacular language of controversy and theology while the natural history of the time

occupied itself with descriptions of fabulous monsters as they are presented in the Scriptures. Thus the influence of the Bible upon the early language was enormous.<sup>22</sup> At its height, it produced the numerous *Bibles en vers*, the mysteries and miracle plays, and the *farces moralisées* of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Sung by the troubadours, chanted or spoken in the mystery plays, and read by all who could read, the terminology of the Bible was more completely assimilated than any other learned terminology which has influenced the language.

Ecclesiastical influence was likewise, it is needless to say, an important factor in the early history of English, Spanish and Italian. As a significant illustration of the manner in which learned doublets have been developed in English, as well as in the Romance languages, let us trace in several of these tongues the history of ecclesiastical Latin Blasphemer, which has given French blâmer and blasphémer, English blame and blaspheme, Spanish blasmar, lastimar and blasfemar, and in Italian the unduplicated form biasimare.

French *blâmer* appears early with the meaning which has persisted to the present time:

Par nule guise ne l'em puet om blasmer. St. Alexis, 235, Uebungsbuch.

De nule chose certes nel sai blasmer. Id., 342.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Cf. L'ancien testament et la langue française, by J. Trenel. Paris, 1904.

For a long period it served also in the meaning to which the form *blasphémer* was finally appropriated:

Il n'est femme, Qui ne crie, tempeste ou blasme.

Farce moralisée, XVth century (in G).

In this latter quotation the popular form blasmer and not the learned blasphémer expresses the idea of speaking ill of the Deity. No differentiation of form, in order to distinguish the two possible connotations of blasmer, appears until the end of the thirteenth century, when the learned word is found serving to translate Latin blasphemare in texts of Biblical inspiration:

E le nun Deu blasphemeit...

E le nun Deu sunt blasphemez.

Z. r. Ph., vol. xxv, verses 710, 905.

And not until the second half of the sixteenth century does blasphémer occur except in translations more or less literal of the Vulgate BLASPHEMARE:

Lorsqu'enragé, vaincu de mes ennuis, En blasphémant, ma dame je poursuis.

La Boétie, 447. (Paris, 1848.)

Its appearance in secular literature is rare until the eighteenth century.

In modern English the speaker or writer makes a clearly defined conceptual differentiation between *blame* and *blaspheme*. It is therefore disconcerting to the average reader to find in Chaucer a sentence like the following:

Thow blamest crist, and seist ful bitterly, He mysdeparteth richesse temporal. Man Lawes T., 7. (Oxford Dict.)

Hardly less disturbing is the use of blaspheme in the following:

Doralicia chafed much in her choller, blaspheming bitterly both me and her sister.

Greene, Arbasto, Chapter 6. (Oxford Dict.)

Such passages illustrate the process of transformation that regularly results from the introduction into a language, under changing influences, of so-called "double" forms of expression. A period of unstable usage ensues for a longer or shorter period, during which the terms gradually take on distinctive and individual connotations, or, if under altered conditions the need for a differentiation of meanings comes no longer to exist, one of the doublets disappears from use in the language.

Ordinarily, the need for differentiation is felt primarily by scholars, prompted by a desire to make their language express the nicest distinctions of meaning. Sometimes, on the other hand, the introduction of new terms is a mere literary affectation, peculiar to a particular individual or to some special movement or period, as in the case of the Rhétoriqueurs in France of the fifteenth century. Such periods of neologizing are often followed by periods of reaction against a given tendency or practice, as when, in France, the *Pléiade* reacted against the latinizing proclivity of the Rhétoriqueurs, or the Romanticists against the neologizing of the *siècle de raison*. It is from this

scholarly influence upon the language that the greater part of the doublet groups are derived. Thus blaspheme is a learned doublet of the popular formation blame. In our ordinary conversation we employ almost exclusively the common, familiar words that we hear on all sides in our daily associations; these terms denote the objects with which we come in frequent contact, and the commoner activities of men; they are the linguistic stock in trade at once of the illiterate and the educated. The latter class are equipped in varying degree with a knowledge of a special vocabulary, composed of specialized terms very numerous in the highly developed languages of modern civilization. These terms are disseminated from scholarly sources - books, learned conversation, scientific discussions, lectures, etc. Since our speech reflects fairly accurately the environment in which we live, our knowledge of the learned portion of our language depends upon the vocation which we follow. If we happen to be devoted to the study of Latin, our speech will soon show traces of this influence in moments of tense thinking. It is easy to account for the tendency of scholars in an age when Latin was the prerequisite of all scholarship, to turn to this exalted idiom when seeking to express their serious and studied thoughts upon the problems which they tried to solve. Not infrequently they found that the current word used to express the special thought they wished to convey was lacking in the technical precision or conciseness necessary. Their solution of the difficulty was to restore to the language the semantically uncontaminated etymon of the popular word, giving it only the slight

phonetic alteration requisite to passing it off as a native form. The newly coined word was often slow in gaining recognition; not infrequently it failed of acceptance temporarily or ultimately, if its utility to the language was unable permanently to justify itself. Even if the new term survived, its use was likely to be for an indefinite period vacillating and uncertain. In the case of the example cited, blame is used in two different meanings because blaspheme was still unappropriated, in its learned form, from the Latin. After this latter form became assimilated, there was a tendency to employ it even in place of the popular form. Not until the eighteenth century did the present usage become fixed.

In Spanish, three derivatives of BLASPHEMARE appear: blasmar, lastimar and blasfemar. Of these, the first two correspond to French blâmer and blasphémer in meaning, and have similar histories. Lastimar,<sup>23</sup> the etymology of which is still doubtful, had come to mean, as found in the earliest texts, 'to hurt', 'injure' or 'grieve':

Conversación sazonada y alegre: pero sin lastimar a nadie.

Cienfuegos, Vida de San Borj., 1, 3.

Me ha lastimado, señora, como al que más.

Dic. de la R. A., 1st edit.

The etymon of these various forms, Latin blasphemare, first appears in the writings of Tertullian (A. D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> M.-L. posits a form \*BLASTIMARE as etymon of lastimar; he suggests that the modification of BLASPHEMARE was due to analogy with ÆSTIMARE.

155-220), who probably found it in the tractates of the early Church fathers. These, in turn, derived their acquaintance with the term from the Septuagint, where the Hebrew HAMEKALAÉL, 'the curse,' is rendered by the Greek  $\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\phi\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ , a compound of  $\beta\lambda\alpha\pi\pi\sigma$  'to harm,' and  $\phi\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$  'to speak.' In the *De Cultu Feminarum*, of Tertullian, Chapters 12 and 13, the Greek root is used as the basis of Latin substantival, verbal and adjectival forms:

Sed enim dicitur a quibusdam ne blasphemetur nomen in nobis si quid de pristino habitu et cultu detrahamus. Non auferamus ergo nobis et vitia pristina simus et moribus iisdem, si et superficie eadem: et tunc vere non blasphemabunt Nationes. Grandis blasphemia, si qua dicitur; ex quo facta est Christiana pauperius incedere. Timebit pauperior videri, ex quo locupletior facta est, et sordidior ex quo mundior. Secundum Gentilium an secundum Dei placitum incedere Christianos oportet? Optemus tantummodo ne iustae blasphemationis causa simus. Quanto autem blasphemabile est, si quae sacerdotes pudicitiae dicimini, impudicarum ritu procedatis cultae, aut expictae?

In Tertullian, BLASPHEMARE is used only in connection with the name of the Deity: in the Vulgate (A. D. 384) its use is extended to people and things: e.g., in relating the death of Goliath's son, slain by the hand of Jonathan, son of David's brother Shimea, the Vulgate reads:

Hic (the giant) BLASPHEMAVIT Israel.

1 Paralipomenon 20:7,

which in the King James version is translated: "But when he defied Israel." This defiance was in reality a reviling or verbal objurgation uttered against the Israelites. Thus

there is a trace of the broadening of meaning of this word during the classical period. By the substitution of the idea of 'uttering hatred' for the closely associated and implied idea of 'indulging hatred' against someone or something, the conceptual development of 'blame' was initiated. This semantic change is reflected in all the Romance languages and in English, while the Spanish lastimar shows a development still farther than the rest; in it the emotional element is increased, but the process is still one of analogy and in keeping with the tendency of words to develop abstract and general meanings as a result of frequent and prolonged use.

From ecclesiastical Latin (using the expression in a very general sense) are derived the learned forms of the following doublets:

ANTIPHONA antienne antiphone

AUGURIUM heur augure
AUREOLA loriot auréole

BENEDICTUS benoît benêt béni bénit
BULLA boule bouille bulle bill
CANONICUS chanoine canonique
CAPITULARE chapitrer capituler
[CARITATEM] cherté charité

[CARITATEM]chertécharitéCAUSAchosecauseCRISTIANUScrétinchrétien

CONTINENTIA contenance continence

DIVINUS devin divin

\*EXALTIARE exhausser exaucer exalter

FERIA foire férie

fleurissant florissant FLORERE

iouir gaudir GAUDERE

grive grièche grècque grègue GRAECA grimoire galamatias grammaire GRAMMATICA

or heure HORA

hôtel hôpital HOSPITALE

enluminer illuminer ILLUMINARE

los lods LAUS

PARABOLA

TYMPANUM

LAZARITM ladre Lazare maison mansion MANSIONEM

orgue organe ORGANUM

parole parabole parvis paradis PARADISUM

pitié piéta piété PIETATEM

psautier psalterion PSALTERIUM rançon redemption REDEMPTIONEM

serment sacrement SACRAMENTUM

tremper tempérer TEMPERARE torche torque TORQUES

timbre tympan vover viguier vicaire VICARIUM

veille vigile VIGILIA voyelle vocale24 VOCALIS

From the above list the following examples are selected for discussion here: AUGURIUM, BENEDICTUM, BULLA,

In the above list and the lists following, the etymon is given in the first column; the second column in general contains the popular derivatives and the third column the learned forms. A number of deviations from the norm occur, since doublet groups vary in number of members and in characteristics.

CARITATEM, CAUSA, CHRISTIANUS, DIVINUS, EXALTARE, HOSPITALE, LAUS, PARADISUM, TEMPERARE:

Heur-augure < AUGURIUM.

Old Fr. eur, heur was dissyllabic  $(\ddot{e}ur)$ ,  $^{25}$  but later, like  $\ddot{e}u$  from Habutum (mod. Fr. eu) sëu from saputum (mod. Fr. su) etc.,  $\ddot{e}ur$  became monosyllabic. Similarity in form and meaning of Latin bonum augurium (bonheur) and bonam horam ( $\dot{a}$  la) bonne heure, is doubtless in part accountable for the introduction of the h in modern heur and bonheur. Semantically,  $\ddot{e}ur$  was formerly used to express the general idea of its etymon:

Del duc Melcis, s'il puet et *ëurs* li consent.

Roman d'Alexandre (in G.).

Frequent use with bon led to an elliptical occurrence of ëur without the adjective:

> Amors, *ëurs* et talens Me poroient bien valoir. Ferris de Ferrières, *Chanson* (in G.).

This use of the unmodified word, in which the neutral idea became positive in meaning, is rare in the written language and occurs in the modern tongue only in the phrase: heur et malheur. In the seventeenth century it was still common:

Que notre heur fût si proche et sitôt se perdît?

Le Cid, iii, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> This use of the diaeresis was introduced and consistently followed by A. Tobler in his editions of Old French.

Comblé d'heur et de jours... Racine, Poés. div., v, 99.

The second edition of the Dictionnaire de l'Académie (1718) admits heur (without bon) only in proverbs. (Cf. Brunot iv, 234, p. 6.) Several other words which have undergone a similar semantic change, e. g., fortune, chance, réussir, have maintained this use to the present time. (Cf. N. iv, 201.)

The learned form is found as early as the twelfth century:

Maldiz seit hui icist augurs, Icist dons et icist ëurs. Roman de Troie, 13735.

Orestes ot oï l'augure.
Ibid., 28191.

The semantic development of the learned word has been insignificant; it preserves in the modern language the connotation of its etymon. It may be used alone in a neutral sense, or modified by bon, mauvais or malheureux:

Oiseau de mauvais augure.

Mon cœur même en conçut un malheureux augure. Racine, Brit. i, 1.

By metonymy, an unwelcome visitor, or even an inauspicious event of any kind may be called *un oiseau de mauvais augure*.

The Spanish doublets abur (ahur, agur are merely orthographical variants), agüero and augurio show semantic development similar to the French. Abur like Fr.

heur has acquired a meliorative sense, but is used only as a term of greeting or of farewell:

Abur, don Felipe, cómo se encuentra usted hoy?

Abur, amiga mía; hasta la vista.

The use of *abur* is gradually declining in the modern idiom and *abur* is rarely used in Latin-American speech.<sup>26</sup>

The semi-popular form agüero is the semantic counterpart of Augurium and is in all essentials the same as augurio, which is the slightly modified Latin form. The difference between the two is that subtle one of taste; augurio smacks of bookishness while agüero is so completely assimilated that it passes for colloquial Spanish.

Benoît — benêt — béni — bénit < BENEDICTUM.

Benoît, when applied to persons in the modern language, means 'affected' or 'priggish.' This development is probably due to the association of these qualities with a certain type of clerics of the olden time, noted for their mawkish mannerisms. An older use of the term contained none of this pejorative sense:

Virges, martires beneïtes,

R. de Moiliens, Miserere, exciv, 6.

L'eve beneoite.

Gautier de Coinci, Sal. Notre Dame (G.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The use of this expression has for a long time been prevalent only in the larger centers of population. On account of this restriction and the unusual form of the word, it seems not unlikely that the term is exotic in origin,—probably from Provençal.

Caillou du benoît saint Etienne. Sarrazin, Poés. (H. D. T.)

The modern idiom employs the term almost wholly by metonymy: Un benoît personnage; mon benoît ami, Jaques.

Benêt, derived from the Norman beneeit, assumed during the sixteenth century the meaning which still persists, namely, 'an easy mark,' 'a foolishly simple-minded person.' The syntactical change from adjective to noun is doubtless due to an ellipsis. The semantic development, distinctly pejorative, is stated by Darmesteter to be due to the popular interpretation of the Biblical phrase, Beati pauperes spiritu. The "poor in spirit" were conceived to be the feeble-minded. The appellation persisted as a sort of popular irony or sarcasm:

Je trouve que tu es benest.

Marot, Epigr. «50.

Me prenez-vous ici pour un benêt?

Mol., Femmes Savantes, v, 2.

 $B\acute{e}ni$  is phonetically an analogical creation taking the place of the old past participle benoît, which latter persists as an adjective.  $B\acute{e}ni$  is used only as a participle or participal adjective:

Sa mémoire est bénie.

Bénit was formerly used like béni; its t is due to analogy with that of benoît and benêt. In modern French bénit is used only as adjective; as such it may connote a disparagement of the noun modified.

Mais c'est pain bénit, certe, à des gens comme vous. (It is well done, for such as you.)

Mol., Ecole des Maris, i, 2.

Eau bénite.

(Fair promise which one does not intend to keep.)

Boule — bulle — bouille — bill < BULLA.

Latin bulla signified a small ball-shaped pendant of metal worn by patrician children up to their seventeenth year. The fundamental meaning of the word seems to have been 'bubble.' French boule preserves the analogical connotation of the Latin term, being equivalent to the English ball. Later analogical developments of the word in French are, in part, as follows:

Jouer à la boule vue — to play cautiously.

Faire la boule-de-neige — to grow like a snow-ball (N. iv, 568).

Perdre la boule, 'to lose one's head.'

Boule hystérique — the sensation of a lump which seems present in the stomach in cases of hysteria.

The learned form bulle preserves the Classical Latin meanings, e. g., 'small ball' and 'bubble.' The papal practice of attaching a small, round metal seal to the official pronunciamientos of the Vatican led to the development of a series of analogical meanings during the late Latin period. At the outset, only the seal was called BULLA. Later the document itself received this name and

at last all orders proceeding from Rome were given the general name BULLA.

In the French period bulle has taken on important analogical significations. Bulle is a nail with a large round head — such as those used in upholstery and as ornamentation for leather belts, etc. From the connotation 'bubble' is derived the use of bulle signifying the puffings of the skin due to blistering; an extension of this usage is seen in the application of the term to the same general phenomenon in painted surfaces, paper, etc.

The Italian diminutives of BULLA > bullettino and biglietto have been completely assimilated by the French forms bulletin and billet.

Bouille, referred by M.-L. 1385, and H. D. T. to Spanish bolla, which signifies a tax upon fencing arms or silk stuffs — or the tag used for marking these articles (Italian bollo) — is limited in French to the meaning 'tag' or 'price mark.' The term first appears in the Encyclopédie (1751).

Bill is borrowed from English bill, which is a doublet of English bull in papal bull. Bill preserves in French its distinctly foreign flavor, being used only in reference to English parliamentary bills; it is most frequently used in the phrase donner un bill (note the gender) d'indemnité à quelqu'un, 'to give sanction to one's acts.'

The Spanish doublets *bula* and *bill* correspond semantically to French *bulle* and *bill*, respectively. *Bola* is the general term for spherical shaped objects. It is used also in the sense of 'falsehood,' and in certain dialects means

a 'tumult' or a 'noisy crowd.' This latter idea is expressed in Castilian by *bulla*, verbal substantive from Latin bullare, whence French *bouler* 'to swell.'

Bolla, Cf. French bouille above.

Bollo, which seems to be derived from bulla (change of gender unexplained, as also Italian bollo == Sp. bolla) is the name of a Spanish bread, made light and puffy by the use of eggs and milk and generally moulded in round loaves. Bollo is the equivalent of English 'dent' — French entaille or coche. By extension of this latter meaning from effect to cause, bollo means a 'blow.'

Hacerse un bollo en la frente.

(Cf. Gröber, A. L. L., vi, 379.)

Examples of the Latin connotations of BULLA follow:

Fons affluens BULLIS ingentibus scaturibat.

Apuleius, Metamor., 4, 6.

Bulla aurea, quo cultu reges soliti sunt esse Etruscorum.

Festus, Ad Verrum Flaccum (in W.).

Ipsum sub BULLA nostra apostolicis annotari litteris mandaremus.

Papyrus I Marini (A. D. 550; in W.).

Cherté — charité < CARITATEM.

In the Vulgate and in Classical Latin, CARITAS is used in the sense of 'love.' This meaning is expressed by French cherté in the earliest texts.

ne habeatis [inimicitiam] mais aiest *cherté* inter vos, quia CARITAS operit multitudinem peccatorum.

Homélie sur le Prophète Jonas, Uebungsbuch, col. 58 (IX. century).

Tant com j'o toi plus en cherté, Tant m'ëus tu plus en vilté!

Brut (XII century). Le Roux de Lincy, ed. of 1818-19.

The learned word was interchangeable with the folk-form during the entire Old French period:<sup>27</sup>

Lo sos regnaz non es devis; En caritat toz es uniz.

St. Léger, 23 (X. century).

Perfectus fud in carited, Fid aut il grand et veritet.

La pauvreté Rutebeuf, 6.

Biaus niés, vis-tu, por sainte carité?

Eucharist (Bartsch).

Puis le preia asez, que un petit mangast Preist la *charité*, un petit se dinast. Wace, *Rou*, 1744 (in G).

The modern *cherté* seems to be built upon the adjective *cher*; the words *cherté* and *charité* are not true doublets but appear so from their external form. Modern *cherté* is a popular synthetic form; the semantic development of these doublets is similar in every particular to that of a true doublet group. Only by a knowledge of the phonetic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Cf. H. Berger, Die Lehnwörter in der französischen Sprache, page 12. Leipzig, 1899.

development can we distinguish such a pair from true doublets.

Charité has been given the Classical Latin meaning and to this has been added the sense of 'material assistance,' the equivalent of 'alms,' due to the use of the word in certain phrases where a sort of euphemism is indicated:

On nous demande la charité.

The word *aumône* is avoided by the substitution of a less exact but also less embarrassing term. By perpetual use, however, this euphemism has become quite as "objectionable" as the specific term. (Cf. N. iv, 314.)

Chose — cause < CAUSA.

Une chose. — The feminine form preserves the meaning of mediaeval Latin CAUSA.

Proinde mano mea et honorum firmata tibi exinde dedisse, ut post hunc diae de hac causa quietus et securus resediat.

J. Pirson, Merowingishe u. Karlowingische Formulare, 4.

Un chose.—The masculine form became common in the first half of the seventeenth century. In several of Molière's plays is found the following phrase:

Un certain monsieur chose.

In his *Manière de Parler*, Renaud (1697) ridicules the use of the term in this vague and careless manner.

... chose, ceci, cela, qui sont les grands azyles de l'ignorance des Termes propres, ou les effets de la précipitation à parler.

(Quoted by Brunot, iv, 519.)

The expressions quelque chose (English 'somebody' or 'something') and grand chose date from this period also:

Pour être plus qu'un roi, tu te crois quelque chose. Corn., Cinna, iii, 4.

Les alliés n'ont pas fait grand chose aujourd'hui.

Bulletin de la grande guerre.

In like manner peu de chose:

Pour mériter ce sort, je suis trop peu de chose. Mol., Mélic., i, 5.

Cause represents the Classical Latin CAUSA and is of distinctly ecclesiastical origin:

Enquist del plur la cause.

Book of Kings (in G.).

In the thirteenth century its use was extended to secular writings:

En tel lieu doiz t'amie fere Ou aies cause de toi trere.

Clef d'amours, 201 (in G.).

En cause que used as an adverbial conjunction is found in Middle French:

Il y osa bien ung soir venir, a tout bien huit cens lanches, en cause que de prendre le cité.

Froiss. Chron. v, 346.

In Spanish the doublets causa and cosa present the same semantic development as the French chose and cause.

Crétin — chrétien < CHRISTIANUM.

"Le manque d'intelligence est quelquefois voilé sous des termes atténuants." (N. iv, 397.)

Like benêt, the word crétin depends for its present acceptation upon the popular superstition in regard to idiots - 'innocent people,' as they are sometimes called by the use of a rhetorical figure of understatement (or litotes. as it is technically called). In certain districts of the French Alps, people affected with St. Vitus' dance or dropsy were considered as having been particularly favored by Providence, receiving thereby the worthy name of crétins, the local phonetic development of the Latin CHRISTIANUS. By extension, this term was applied to all idiots and imbeciles, and with this connotation the word passed into the written language. From the French, the word has been borrowed into English, Spanish and Italian, forming in each of these a doublet with the commoner term meaning Christian. (Cf. A. Gl. It. iii, 16; also Z. r. Ph. xxii, 468.)

Chrétien, like crétin, was raised to substantival rank, and came to be used in the sense of 'man,' 'human being.'

Et jamais je ne vis un plus hideux chrétien.

Mol., Ecole des Femmes, ii, 3.

This use of the word is at present obsolescent. (A parallel development exists in the case of the Russian krestyanin

which has come to mean a 'peasant' or 'country fellow;' while khrestyanin, a learned form from the Old Bulgarian, has been borrowed to indicate 'Christian.')

Devin — divin < DIVINUM.

Latin DIVINUS was used both as adjective and as noun. animos hominum esse DIVINOS.

Cic., De Amicitia, 4, 13.

The French derivative *devin* is used only as noun, synonymous with *prophète*; the feminine form *devine* is no longer used, but has given way to *devineresse*. Devin indicates a 'seer' who is considered to be gifted with preternatural powers; more especially those derived from demons and evil spirits than from good.

Si le devin est ignorant en l'art diabolique. Pascal, Prov., 8.

By analogy, the boa constrictor is called *le devin*, owing to the superstition with which it is regarded by certain Indian tribes.<sup>29</sup> The synonymous *devineur* and *divinateur* are generally associated with the good spirits.

Divin is used only as an adjective signifying the possession of qualities usually attributed to the Deity. By hyperbole, divin may be used to indicate any excessively good or beautiful person or thing.

L'auteur le plus divin. Boileau, Art. poét., I.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Omitted from list in Nyrop ii, 425.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Elliptical for le serpent devin. Cf. Larousse, Grande Encyclopédie, s.v.

Exhausser—exaucer—exalter < EXALTARE, \*EXALTIARE.

The spellings exhausser and exaucer were used interchangeably up to the sixteenth century. Thereafter exaucer is employed to express the idea of fulfilling a wish or oath; while exhausser expresses the meaning 'to build higher,' 'to increase the height of.'

Latin exaltare is rare in the classical period. Utilized by Saint Jerome to translate the Hebrew ROUM, 'to raise,' 'elevate' or 'honor,' it appears frequently in the Vulgate. (Cf. Trenel, 155.) The derivative form \*EXALTIARE gave rise in French to the forms exaucer and exhausser. The learned exalter is found first recorded; it is used in the figurative sense common in the Vulgate.

Deus lexaltat cui el servid.

St. Léger in Uebungsbuch, col. 80, 29.

A curt fust sempre lui servist il *lexaltat* e lonorat.

Id., 44-45.

For several succeding centuries the learned form does not occur; its place was taken by *exaucer*, used indifferently in literal and figurative meanings. During the seventeenth century, *exalter* reappears, being used to convey the same idea as the Latin EXALTARE:

... En quelque ode insipide T'exalter aux dépens et de Mars et d'Alcide. Boileau, Epît. 1.

Spanish ensalzar 'to celebrate,' 'to praise' and exaltar 'to exalt' correspond to French exaucer and exalter, respectively.

Hôtel — hôpital < HOSPITALEM.

Latin Hospitale signified 'a large room suitable for the reception of guests.' French hôtel signifies 'a house where one may find hospitality.' From the fact that the cripples and the feeble were provided with a permanent home under the supervision of various religious orders, we find in many French cities the establishments known under the name of Hôtel-Dieu. This designation persists even now, when the nature of the services offered has become medical rather than purely charitable. The learned form hôpital has supplanted hôtel in this primitive meaning, except in this survival, Hôtel-Dieu. This connotation of hôpital, however is not exclusively modern.

Juste Cantorbire unt leprus un hospital.
Garnier de Pont Ste. Maxence, St. Thomas
(in H. D. T.).

The related word *hospice* < HOSPITIUM is the equivalent of English 'asylum' or 'refuge.'

The extension of meaning by which the word hôtel came to include houses for the reception of travellers who paid for their lodging impaired its former connotation of charitable refuge for the poor or feeble. By analogy the sumptuous dwellings of high officials and persons of social prominence came to be called hôtels during the sixteenth century. This use is the equivalent of the English 'man-

Note: Spanish hostal, hospital and hotel are doublets derived from HOSPITALEM. Of these, hostal is obsolete, hospital is learned and hotel is a gallicism which has become universal among urban populations.

sion' or 'manor.' Under Louis XIV, hôtel was used instead of palais — meaning 'the king's house' or 'palace.' After the establishment of separate homes for the various governmental bureaus, the term was applied generally to these edifices — most commonly to the municipal building which is known as l'Hôtel de Ville. (Cf. Wörter und Sache, i, 178; and Streng, Haus und Hof im Franz., Helsingfors, 1907.)

## Los — lods < LAUS.

The weight of opinion concerning the etymology of los and lods favors the Latin nominative LAUS as the true etymon. The only important dissenter from this decision is Darmesteter, who supports the theory that the French words are both derived from the Latin plural LAUDES. Meyer-Lübke and Körting both accepted Tobler's view (Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademien, 851-'72, Berlin, 1896) that los is derived from the Latin singular nominative used as an ejaculation of acclaim, upon the public appearance of the emperors. This derivation is accepted by G. Paris (Romania, xxv, 623). The form lods is due to learned influence; the two spellings were used indifferently up to the sixteenth century. The form laudes, used only in the ecclesiastical sense, is a direct borrowing of the Latin plural as used during the Middle Ages to refer to the prayers chanted daily in the offices of the service. (Cf. Du Cange, Gloss.) According to this view, laudes is not a doublet of los and lods.

Los occurs early in French literature:

Respunt Rollanz ja fereie que fols! En dulce France en perdreie mun los!

Roland, 1053.

Here los has the meaning of 'reputation.' It was later used in the sense of 'approbation,' 'consent' or 'advice:'

Rois, prens conseil au los que je te dis.

Garin le Loherains (in G.).

Par le loux de Aalis ma femme.

Text in G. (XIII. century.)

A special meaning was attached to the phrase a los:

Il doit refaire la maison ceu qu'il en tient a bien et a lous.

Cath. de Metz (in G.).

An extension of meaning with a legal flavor occurs in the following passage:

Par quoi nous appellasmes payer *los* et ventes la recognoissance qui se faisoit par nous a notre seigneur direct et foncier, par le gré et *los* duquel nous estions impatronisez.

Pasquier, Recherches, ii, 46.

The above extract presents los used, in the first instance, as the equivalent of the archaic lods, meaning the authorization which must be obtained from the feudal lord by his vassals when one of these desired to sell property rights outside of the line of natural inheritance. This is merely an extension of the idea of approbation or advice,

in which sense the term is used in the second instance in the passage quoted. The legal connotation of the word was indicated by the restoration of the d of the Latin LAUDEM. This distinction has been preserved in the modern language. In addition to an unexplained change of gender, lods is considered as a plural substantive, while los has remained singular, but has also suffered a change of gender.

Los is a rare word in the modern language; it was considered obsolescent in the early seventeenth century (Brunot iii, pt. 1, 115), when its place was taken by louange. In the modern speech los is admissible only with the meaning 'approval.'

Parvis — paradis < PARADISUM.

Xenophon borrowed the word παράδεισος from the Persian. The authors of the Septuagint used this Greek term to translate the Hebrew cognate PARDESH meaning 'a flower garden:'

Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruit.

Song of Songs, iv, 13.

The same word was used to translate Hebrew GAN EDEN meaning 'the Garden of Eden.' In the Latin of the early Church Fathers, PARADISUS was used in a sense parallel to the English 'Heaven' in its theological connotation. The Vulgate preserves the meanings of the Septuagint. Strangely enough, the earliest French texts contain ex-

amples of the expanded theological connotation as found in the tractates of the Church Fathers.

Ab me venras en paradis.

Passio Christi, Uebungsbuch, 1.300.

E lanema en est enz el paradis deu.

St. Alexis, Uebungsbuch, strophe 109.

Later texts show the infiltration of the Vulgate connotation.

Quant Deus ot fait Adam e mis en paradis. Garnier de Pont-Ste. Maxence, v. 1, 291 (in G.).

En si grief servage se mist Que de paradis se desmist.

Mir. Notre Dame, xxxiv, 2. (Trenel)30

Paradis has preserved both these meanings in the modern language; by analogy the gallery of a theatre becomes le paradis. Other analogical developments are paradis terrestre and chemin du paradis.

Parvis translates one of the analogical meanings of the Italian paradiso, used in the later Middle Ages as the name of the portico before Saint Peter's. Passing into the Southern dialects in the eleventh or twelfth century the term appears in French at the beginning of the thirteenth with the spelling parevis.<sup>31</sup>

En cel parevis parmei cui hom vat a laglise. Gregoire, Dial., p. 212.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> I have not been able to verify this passage quoted by Trenel.

The development of the v is problematical. Cf. G. Paris, *Mélanges linguistiques*, p. 340, where analogy with visus is suggested; M-L. 6223 does not accept this.

In the modern language the meaning of parvis has been extended to include the open square before the church, the church itself and its interior, the vestibules, the naves and the body of the edifice (cf. H. D. T.):

De ses parvis sacrés, j'ai deux fois fait le tour. Racine, Athalie, iii, 7.

Tremper — tempérer < TEMPERARE.

The troubadours of Provence used the verb trempar or temprar to indicate the act of striking the strings of the crude instruments with which they accompanied their singing. The jongleurs of the North borrowed the term from them, applying it to the act of tuning the instrument. Thus the basic idea expressed by Latin temperare 'to limit' was changed from 'moderate' to 'modulate' (of sound).

Cil qui la harpe ne sait *temprer*.

Pierre de Peckham (in G.).

La pucele a i dunc sa harpe ben tempree. (in G.).

The idea expressed by the English verb "temper" is exhibited by *tremper* in the seventeenth century:

Ceux qui n'ont l'esprit si fort, ni si trempé. M. de Regnier, Sat. 15.

This primitive signification was, however, submerged by the analogical developments which had as their point de départ the fundamental idea of a change in the quality or consistency of a thing by mixing with something else. The expressions tremper son vin, 'to moderate the strength

of wine by the addition of water,' tremper du pain dans du vin, preserve much of the meaning of the etymon. The change of condition is always due to the application of a liquid — wine, water, blood, etc.

Dans leur sang odieux, j'ai pu tremper mes mains. Racine, Mithridate, v, 5.

The peculiar locution tremper la soupe, 'to soak the soup,' represents an inversion of the idea that is intended to be expressed; it is not the soup that is soaked but the bread in the soup.

A further semantic change arose by the use of the verb intransitively:

Le linge trempe dans de l'eau savonnée.

From this meaning developed the use of *tremper* in the sense of 'to take part in:'

Les conspirations auxquelles même on n'a pas trempé. Montesquieu, Esprit des lois, xii, 17.

Tremper in this latter connotation is now obsolete.

Tempérer originally represented specifically the ideas expressed by its etymon 'to moderate' or 'change.'

La douceur qui tempérait cette vivacité. Fénelon, Tel., I.

Il fait dire au prince des philosophes que le vin enivre, et à l'Orateur romain que l'eau le tempère.

La Bruvère; vol. ii, p. 105. (Grands écrivains).

In the modern language, tempérer is used almost wholly in the sense 'to moderate by gentle or kindly treatment.'

In Spanish, templar and temperar appear as doublets. Templar has maintained more of the classical Latin meaning than its French prototype tremper. It is used in the sense of 'to tune an instrument' but has not the meaning 'to soak.' Reflexively, various meanings have been added to this term in South American dialects. In Ecuador, templarse means 'to summon up one's courage;' in Chile, 'to fall in love;' in Honduras, 'to die.' Temperar is distinctly learned in form and meaning.

## CHAPTER II. — DOUBLETS OF LAW-COURT ORIGIN

The Latin of the Church was, as we have seen, not the only source from which learned words were borrowed; in the law-courts Latin was the usual medium of speech and the only official medium for legal documents up to the second half of the thirteenth century. Thereafter scattered manuscripts were written in French well burdened with direct borrowings from the official language, which remained Latin until the famous decree of Francis I promulgated at Villers-Cotterets in 1539, whereby all acts of justice were ordered henceforth to appear in French. (Cf. Brunot, ii, 30.) But for a long period the Latin of the courts had made its presence felt in the vulgar tongue, and a large number of legal terms had been assimilated before the

Note: Trahison and tradition, derived by Brachet and Michaëlis from Traditionem, have been shown by Professor Sheldon (Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, vol. i, p. 188 ff.) to be derived from different etyma. Trahison is a synthetic form built upon Trahik<\*Traditien\*\* tradition\* Tradition\*\* Tradition\*\* India tradition\*\* Tradition\*\*

famous decree mentioned above. The following learned doublets may be considered as having originated, to a greater or less degree, in the Latin of the law-courts.

ADVOCATUM avoué avocat
ARTICULUM orteil article

AUCTORIZARE octroyer autoriser
AUGUSTUM août auguste
COLLECTAM cueillette collecte

COMPOSITOREM compositeur compositeur

DIRECTUM droit direct
DIVISARE deviser diviser
IMMOBILEM immeuble immobile
INCLAVARE enclouer enclaver
MAGISTRUM maître magister
MINUITAM menue minute

PROBABILEM prouvable probable PROCURATOREM procureur procurateur

PROVINCIALEM provençal provincial OUIETUM coi quitte

QUIETUM coi quitte
REFUSARE ruser refuser
REGALIS royal réal régal
SALARIUM salière salaire
SIGNUM seing signe
SINGULARIS sanglier singulier
SUSPICIONEM soupcon suspicion

From the above list the following words have been selected for discussion: ARTICULUM, DIRECTUM, MINUTAM, QUIETUM, REFUSARE.

Orteil — article < ARTICULUM.

The commoner spelling of the modern *orteil* was *arteil* in the older language:

Puis print les doys et artaulx de son senestre pied et les tiroit.

Perceforest (in G.).

Sur les artoz des piés un trop pou s'apuioit. Girart de Roussillon, 6375.

The change from a to o has been attributed by Ascoli (A. Gl. I., x, 270) to contamination with the Celtic ordag, <sup>32</sup> meaning 'thumb' or 'great toe.' The Celtic word occurs in the Glosses of Cassel, *Uebungsbuch*, col. 39. The meaning of the word was extended in French to include all of the toes; it may still be used unmodified in the meaning of 'great toe.'

O tout cen doiz estre cortois des chevels siques es ortois. Clef d'amors, 296-'7 (in G.).

The Latin etymon ARTICULUM has as its primary signification 'a small member connecting various parts of the body,' a joint, knuckle, etc.

Hominis digiti ARTICULOS habent ternos, pollex binos. Pliny, 11-43, 99 p. 244 (in W.).

Summus caudae ARTICULUS.

Id., 8-41, 63; p. 153 (in W.).

This is equivalent to the word 'articulation' in modern

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Cf. Pedersen, Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprache; Band i, p. 261.

English. Applied to the body of a discourse by analogy with the human body, ARTICULUS came to mean one of the subdivisions of the work:

ARTICULUS dicitur, cum singula verba intervallis distinguuntur caesa oratione, hoc modo: acrimonia voce, vultu adversarios perterruisti.

Cornificus, Ad Herrenium, 4, 19.

In Latin there was a generalization of meaning, whereby articulus came to signify 'thing,' 'stage' or 'point:'

Per eosdem (i. e. per easdem honorum partes) ARTICU-LOS et gradus producere.

Suet., Claud., 4.

ARTICULUS was used in Latin in its present grammatical sense:

ARTICULI ab ARTICULO vocablum sumserunt ita ut exerto ARTICULO aliquem aut aliquid demonstremus.

Publius Sergius, *Gram.*, iv, 548-9.

Article occurs in Old French in the meaning 'joint' or 'division:'

Or, les articles de ses doigts.

Guy de Tours (in G.).

Also meaning 'toe,'=orteil:

Les Egyptiens estans fort podagreux, ayans les articles et pieds fort enflez.

G. Bouchet, Serees, xxix (in G.).

The classical Latin meaning adopted by the Church in the phrase ARTICULUS FIDEI first appears in French in the *Trésor de la Cité des Dames* of Christine de Pisan:

Et il semble que toutes les paroles des philosophes soient articles de foy. (In G.)

Spanish artejo is the equivalent of French orteil; it refers more particularly to the joints, being synonymous with nudillo. Artículo corresponds to French article.

Droit — direct < DIRECTUM.

Latin DEXT(E)RUM developed into Old French destre, which form persisted in the Middle French period. Littré states that the confusion with dreit (modern droit) occurred during the fifteenth century; the confusion was due more to the semantic encroachment than to any phonetic assimilation on the part of either word. Destre is frequenty recorded in the Old French texts:

La destre aurelia li excos.

Passio Christi, 44.

Sun destre guant en ad vers Deu tendut. Chanson de Roland, 2373 (édition Bédier).

Donc a Jacob li vius se destre main levee.

Bible de Sapience, Bartsch, 194.

Like Latin DEXTER, the French destre was used elliptically as a substantive:

Il tira le coustel qui lui pendoit au destre et lui dist. Mélusine (in G.).

Note: Asséner and assigner were long considered doublets of the Latin ASSIGNARE and this etymology is allowed by Darmesteter. M. L. (7932) derives asséner from the Germanic root sin—modern Sinn—'mind', 'sense', 'intellect'—which accords far better with the semantic content of asséner. Cf. Z. r. Ph., vi, 112; and id., vii, 480; M.-L., Einführung, 32.

Latin DIRECTUS or DERECTUS was used in the Classical period in connotations comparable to the modern use of droit in the sense of 'right,' 'law,' etc.:

Si quis servo dederit libertatem et directo et per fidei commissum in potestate servi est, utrum velit ex directo an ex fidei commisso ad libertatem pervenire.

Julius Paulus, Digest. librum; 40; 4, 56.

Quid esset directum ( $\varepsilon v\theta \dot{\epsilon}s$ ) in praeceptis tuis. Vulgate, Sap. iv, 9.

Pes meus stetit in directo.

Id., Psalm xxvi, 12.

As an adjective meaning 'straight,' 'proper,' 'true,' etc.:

Vera illa et *derecta* ratio vivendi veri et justi ratione. Caelius Rufus, 42.

Thus a word originally used in media voce — directus referred originally to 'direction' — came to mean 'in a certain direction,' namely, 'the right direction.' This development was similar to that of CADENTIA and FORTUNA. Such a meaning is clear in the following:

Ecce verbum directum habemus.

Gregory of Tours, (Bonnet, 280).

in which directum is equivalent to French juste or bon. This connotation is preserved in French droit and Spanish derecho.

Droit appears in the earliest texts:

Si cum per dreit son fradra salvar dist.

Serments de Strasbourg.

Qu'il l'ait a dreit en la curt celui ki l'avait rescus.

Lois de Guillaume (Bartsch, 18).

In the sense of property:

L'en appelle aucunes fois droict la chose de quoy la possession appartient a aucun, si comme Paris est le droict au roy de France; aucunes fois appelle l'on droict satisfaction de tort fait a aucun, si comme l'en dit: Cestuy a eu droict de celuy qui le roa, quand il a esté pendu; aucunes fois appelle si comme l'en dict: Celuy a fait droit qui loyaulment a jugé ou finé une querelle. L'on appelle droict les loix et les coustumes de Normandie pour ce que par eux est souvent le plet finé.

Anciens Coutumes de Norm. in G.).

Used as an adjective, supplanting destre:

Le bras droit, l'œil droit, tourner à droite.

In the sense of 'correctly:'

Je ne sçay pas clorre à droit une lettre. Montaigne, Ess. (in G.)

Direct represents in modern French the early Classical Latin connotation 'straight.' Its use as a term of grammar occurred in the Latin period; in the following passage it is used to signify the nominative case as opposed to the oblique cases:

Uniuscuiusque urbis primum DIRECTUM casum examinare debemus.

Consentius Gallus, Gram., v, 349,9.

Spanish derecho and directo have developed similarly with French droit and direct.

Consult D. Fryklund, Les changements de signification des Expressions de Droite et de Gauche dans les Langues romanes. Diss. Upsala, 1907; Gröber, Grundriss, 12, 470; Arch. L. L., ii, 103.

Menue — minute < MINUTAM.

Menue has received several analogical meanings during the French period, while preserving its essential connotation in respect to the size of an object: A la menue main, 'in detail;' Par le menu, 'in detail;' La gent menue, 'the common people.'

De marchandises delivrees a la *menue* main, les marchands seront receus en affermant par leur sermens selon leurs papiers.

Coutumes de Namur (text in G.).

Compte moi cy par les menuz les moyens que tu as tenuz Pour parvenir à ton affaire.

Cl. Farot, Dial. des amoureux.

Crient la gent menude.

St. Alexis, strophe 107. Uebungsbuch.

The Spanish phrase a menudo, meaning 'often,' seems to have had a very close counterpart in the Old French menut:<sup>33</sup>

Chiedent i fuildres e menut e suvent. Chanson de Roland, 1426.

The modern menue, 'bill of fare,' means literally the

<sup>88</sup> Cf. the Spanish learned form minuto.

minutiae, "minutes" of the meal. Cf. the Spanish learned form minuto.

The learned form *minute* represents the classical MINUTAM without any important analogical developments. These meanings are (1) minute of time or of arc; (2) minutes of a meeting; (3) rough contour map.

 Les astrologiens divisent les cercles du ciel en degrés et les degrés en minuz et les minuz en secons.

Oresme, Livre du ciel et du monde (in G.).

(2) X fueilles de minutte (text in G.).

Coi — quitte < QUIETUM.

The difference in meaning between these two terms in the modern language developed in the Late Latin of the law courts. The popular form *coi* preserves the classical Latin sense of 'quiet,' 'peaceful' or 'tranquil.' *Quitte* is, according to H. D. T., the phonetic development in French of the Late Latin form QUETUS,<sup>34</sup> meaning 'free from further obligation.' By extension, *quitte* is applied to 'freedom from moral obligation.'

Quite li cleim, se il la voelt aveir.

Roland, 2748.

Monsieur le Prince n'en sera pas quitte pour quarante mille écus.

Mme. de Sévigné, 158.

 $<sup>^{3\,4}</sup>$  The Spanish doublets quedo and quieto support this derivation.

Ta gloire est dégagée, et ton devoir est quitte. Corneille, Le Cid, v, 6.

The expressions quitte  $\dot{a}$  (at the risk of), and quitte  $\dot{a}$  quitte (tit for tat) are developments of the seventeenth century.

The feminine form of coi, coite, is no longer used except in the expression chambre coite. Coi has yielded ground before the influence of tranquille and is now used only in informal parlance.

Ruser — refuser < REFUSARE.

Latin REFUSARE is built upon the supine of REFUNDERE, 'to repulse,' 'to cast away.' Old French *ruser* preserved the Latin signification.

Se comencierent a mesler, Li un les autres a ruser. Roman de Thebes, 7571-'2.

De premier assaut l'ost des Romains les fit *ruser* arrière. Bersuire, *Tite Liv.*, f°. 50.

The term was used in a figurative sense at an early period.

Las! je me tieng pour deceu Je voi bien que l'en m'a rusé.

Mir. de Notre Dame, vol. iii, p. 92.

From this use developed the phrase applied to the chase:

C'est un vieux lièvre qui ruse.

The extension of this meaning gave the common connotation of the word in the modern language:

Il a voulu ruser avec moi (he wanted to deceive me).

Charles II, pendant tout son règne, rusa constamment avec l'opinion.

Mme. de Staël.

The use of the feminine past participle as a substantive dates from the seventeenth century:

Voyez vous la petite rusée!

Molière, Malade imaginaire, ii, 8.

Refuser restores the connotation of the Latin REFUSARE.

Qui dreite lei et dreit jugement refusera. Lois de Guillaume, 41.

J'aurai peine, Seigneur, à lui refuser grâce. Corneille, Sertore, i, 3.

# CHAPTER III. — DOUBLETS OF SCIENTIFIC ORIGIN

The contribution of the Middle Ages to science is conspicuously scanty; yet a modicum of learned words entering the language during that early period may be regarded as referable — somewhat hazily indeed — to the uncertain domain of mediaeval science. The learned forms of the following doublet groups are here undogmatically attributed to this category:

[APOTHICARIUM] boutiquier apothicaire

AQUATICUS aiguage aquatique

ARCUM arche arc

ARTICULATUM artillé articulé

BERYLLUM brille béryl

BISSEXTUM bissêtre bissexte

COAGULARE cailler coaguler

COMPUTARE conter compter
DUCTILEM douille ductile
ECHO écho Echo
ELEPHANTUM olifant éléphant

[FLUCTUATIONEM] flottaison fluctuation

GRAMMATICAM galimatias grammaire grimoire

PENSARE peser penser
PIGMENTUM piment pigment

POLYPUM poulpe pieuvre polype

POTIONEM poison potion
PUNCTIONEM poinçon ponction
REPLICARE replier, répliquer

ROSATUM rosé rosat

SCINTILLARE étinceler scintiller SPECIEM épice espèce

STAMEN étaim estame
VERTIBULAM vervelle vertevelle

VITRUM verre vitre

The following are chosen for discussion:

Bissêtre — bissexte < BISSEXTUM.

The Julian calendar provided for the intercalation of an extra day, every fourth year, after the sixth of the Kalends of March (corresponding to the 24th of February). This extra day was called BISEXTUS, later erroneously spelled BISEXTUS. In some more or less mysterious manner this extra day came to be held in superstitious awe by the commonalty of people, and the popular derivative in French, bissêtre, represents the idea of 'unlucky or

unfortunate occurrence.' The Latin adjective thus becomes a French noun by the combined processes of ellipsis and metonymy. The modern language employs bissêtre to signify an inopportune or foolish and reprehensible act.

Il nous va faire encor quelque nouveau bissêtre.

Mol., L'Etourdi, v, 5.

Bissexte is rarely used in the recent speech. Its connotations are exactly like that of its etymon, except that it has accommodated itself to the Gregorian calendar—being the name given to the 29th of February instead of the 25th.

Boutiquier — apothicaire < [APOTHICARIUM].

The earliest form of the Latin derivative of Greek 'αποθήκα appears in Cicero, who uses it in the sense of 'shop.' In Tertullian it is used in association with GAZA, 'cellar.'

De gazis et APOTHECIS deliciarum suarum. Tertullian, contra Marcion, 4, 28.

The classical meaning is preserved in Spanish bodega 'wine-cellar;' the doublet botica shows the same generalization of meaning as French boutique. Bodega has also undergone an expansion of meaning, being applied to storage houses in general. At the same time, it maintains its original application to wine-cellars.

Al que va a la bodega, por vez se le cuenta, bebe o no bebe.

This is the picturesque Spanish proverb corresponding to the English "A man is known by the company he keeps."

The Latin nomen actoris apothecarius first appears in the Digest of Justinian (12, 57):

APOTHECARIOS... ceterosque institores aliarum mercium. French boutiquier is apparently a synthetic form built upon boutique and is thus not a true doublet of apoticaire, which is taken directly from the Latin. The expansion of meaning represented in modern French boutique was probably an accomplished fact by the time of Gregory of Tours, who uses ADPOTECIS in the sense of modern French boutique (Hist. Francorum, 7, 37).

The learned form apoticaire first appears in Le Livre des Mestiers (II, xvi, 4) of E. Boileau, compiled about the middle of the thirteenth century. The meaning of the word in the context is not entirely clear, but it is probably used in the sense of 'one who sells medicine.' We know that about this time a keen interest in medicine was manifested (the Chirurgie of Mondeville dates from at least as early as 1314. Cf. A. Bos, La Chirurgie de Mondeville, Paris, 1897). It was then quite natural for the vendors of mysterious medicaments with healing properties to make use of a Latin name; by analogy, they may well have chosen apothicaire, for their shops contained jugs and phials, just as did those of the wine merchants, and their locales were probably very similar in nature.<sup>35</sup>

These early pharmacists not only sold medicines, they prescribed and administered them as well. With the development of medical science during the last century, a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Cf. Paul LaCroix, Sciences et lettres au moyen-âge, page 172 ff. Paris, 1877.

sharp division of labor was effected between doctors and pharmacists. As a result of this, it has come to be considered unprofessional for pharmacists to prescribe or administer medicines. Those who do so are apothicaires. They are perhaps regarded with suspicion by the average individual, so the word has acquired a derogatory sense, due to unanticipated social and economic changes in the status of a profession which was originally much esteemed — which indeed had chosen its title, as is often the case in our own day, with due regard to the effect this would be supposed to have upon the public mind.

Sic transit gloria verbi!

Est-il possible que vous serez toujours embéguiné de vos apothicaires et médecins, et que vous vouliez être malade en dépit des gens et de la nature?

Mol., Le Malade imaginaire, iii, 3.

Conter — compter < COMPUTARE.

The differentiation in orthography of conter and compter did not become fixed until the seventeenth century. One would have expected the introduction into French of a learned form computer (cf. O. Fr. comput, and English compute); but apparently such a form does not occur.

Conter, Latin COMPUTARE, seems to have developed similarly to the modern German erzählen from zählen and to modern French deviser. In the earliest examples noted of its use, conter means 'to relate' or 'recount' the deeds or the sayings of the epic heroes.

Toz les gas li contat, quant que il en oït. Voyage de Charlemagne, 628.

Bel et cortoisement li conte; "Celi est roys et cestui conte".

La Clef d'Amors, 509-'10.

The cleric who translated the Cambridge Psalter (about A. D. 1100) was acquainted with the Classical Latin origin and meaning of the word:

Ki cunted le numbre des esteiles.

Psalm cxlvi, 4.

Froissart (or his scribes) restored in part the spelling of the etymon:

Et tout compté, il n'estoient que euls douse. Froissart, Chron. iv, 329.

But the orthography is variable until the seventeenth century:

Si tu peut me *conter* les fleurs Du printemps...

Ronsard, Odes II.

Flottaison — fluctuation < [FLUCTUATIONEM].

Flottaison is a substantive derived from the verb flotter and is not a true doublet of fluctuation. In the older language the term was used to signify the flooding of meadows during the period of high tides. This meaning had its origin in the Norman dialect, where the practice was in vogue and where the term still persists in its original force.

Et pourra clore et ouvrir les dictz ventailles pour ouvrer a son dict moulin sauf en la saison de *flottaison* des dictz pretz.

Cartulaire de l'église de Terouanne (1448; in G.). In modern French the word is limited to a special connotation of marine origin. It means 'the water-line' of a boat or ship.

Ligne de flottaison d'un navire.

The learned form *fluctuation* is found as early as the first half of the twelfth century.

Li sire ne dunrat en permanebletet fluctuation a juste.

Psaut. d'Oxford, Livre 24.

A specialized meaning exists in surgical parlance, in which the term signifies "mobilité et déplacement alternatif du liquide renfermé dans une tumeur, quand on la presse."

These words are doublets only in their external form, not in their etymological history.

Grimoire — galimatias — grammaire < GRAMMATICAM.

Grimoire is a corruption of a dialectal form gramoire for grammaire; its gender has been changed by ellipsis — un livre de grimoire>un grimoire. Because grammars were written in Latin and were thus unintelligible to the unlettered, while the students were always seen studying them, grimoire came to signify any book containing cabalistic writings, more especially those attributed to the use of witches and alchemists. This pejorative development is still the connotation of grimoire.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Compare the English doublets grammar and glamour where the opposite tendency is to be observed.

Galimatias is derived from GRAMMATICAM by Meyer-Lübke, through southern dialects influenced by the Basque kalamatica, which shows semantic differentiation from its Spanish etymon gramática in that it means 'a jabbering' or 'noisy conversation.'37 This meaning is preserved in French, where galimatias is used as a masculine noun, or rarely as an adjective:

L'on n'entend que du galimatias. Satire Ménipée, 1, 15.

Un langage le plus galimatias... qu'on se puisse figurer. Sorel, Francion, 235.

Grammaire presents the same fundamental concepts as the Latin etymon; it applies to the rules of speech or to the book containing them.

Philippe de Thaun / en franceise raisun ad estrait Bestiaire / un livre de gramaire. Phil. de Thaun, Bestiaire, 1-4.

By extension, any book containing the rules of a science or art may be called a grammaire.

Epice — espèce < speciem.

According to Wölfflin (A. L. L., xi, 540), the soundness of whose conclusions would need to be subjected to critical

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Is it not likely that the Basque form was derived from the popular Spanish derivative galimatias? This would be a normal phonetic development; historically, the Spanish form appears late in the text; cf. Dicc. de Ferreros, Madrid, 1787, also Dicc. de la Real Academia, ed. 1884 where galimatias first appears under the sanction of the Academy.

scrutiny, the development of meaning of épice has been traced to an early legal quarrel between the Romans and the Sabines as to the right of possession of wine made from grapes that were either stolen or illegally offered to the wine merchant for pressing; the Romans holding that the wine was no longer to be considered as grapes, but as a new species derived from raw material and therefore a technically different substance, which might be claimed by the merchant. As a result of this controversy, the term SPECIES came to be applied to wine. By extension, the other most important products of the soil which required preparation before being ready to eat — grain, and oil received the same legal designation. Tradesmen began to employ the term species in referring to these staple articles of food, and the further extension of its use led to the general application of the word to all the foodstuffs that were sold by these merchants. A parallel development is indicated in the French expression, now quite obsolete, épices des juges — the confections offered to a judge by the winner of a law-suit:

Il me redemandait sans cesse ses épices; Et j'ai tout bonnement couru dans les offices, Chercher la boîte au poivre.

Racine, Les Plaideurs, ii, 7.

The first recorded appearance of the word in French is the following:

Coste, canele, peivre, altres bones espices.

Voyage de Charlemagne, 211.

Les quatre épices, 38 'all-spice' and pain d'épice 'dark brown' are phrases of frequent occurrence.

Un visage de pain d'épice.

J.-J. Rousseau, Confessions, 3.

The learned form espèce is first recorded in the Roman de la Rose (6969, Langlois):

Por l'espece avoir toujours vive.

It presents the same concepts as the Classical Latin SPECIES. In the modern language it has suffered a deterioration which has given it a bad flavor, having come to be used like the English 'sort of' or 'kind of,' with a distinctly depreciatory tone. (Cf. Nyrop, iv, 188.)

Elle est une espèce de drôle (she's a strange creature).

Species is the etymon of two Spanish terms especia and especie. Of these, the former has been transformed into a first declension form according to the general fate of fifth declension nouns. The meaning of this folk form in Spanish corresponds exactly with that of the French popular form. Especie shows a tendency to expand semantically just as espèce has done.

Verre — vitre < VITRUM.

Glass was used by the Egyptians and the Greeks for the making of beads and other ornaments. Its manu-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> The 'four spices' were originally clove, nutmeg, pepper and cinnamon or ginger. Additional spices added by the modern culinary artist have not caused the term to be altered.

facture was well understood by the Romans, who also used it to a very limited extent, for windows. In France, the manufacture of glass began during the Roman period and as early as the sixth century privileges were obtained by certain nobles which entitled them to exclusive rights similar to those conferred by modern letters patent. In the eleventh century, Venetian workmen introduced Italian stained glass windows into French cathedrals; French glaziers were employed to make the beautiful windows of the choir of Canterbury cathedral. The general use of window glass did not begin, however, until the middle of the fifteenth century. Glass drinking cups were common in Roman times and in the first example of the term in French the word is used with this meaning:

Et se fust il mismes ens el fons avaler en un vaissel de *voirre* ce ne puet hon fausser qu'il fist faire a sa guise fort et reont et cler et enclorre de fer qu'il ne pëust casser.

Roman d'Alexandre, 5041 (ed. Weismann).

The learned doublet first appears in the Roman de la Rose, 19680:

Plus clere que cristal ne vitre.

In the modern language *verre* persists as the general term for 'glass,' while *vitre* is used only for 'window-pane.'

The derivatives voirine, verrine, and vitrine as well as verrier and vitrier are doublets. Voirine is obsolescent; verrine is a plate of glass placed as a protection before a reliquary or over a jewel-case; vitrine is plate-glass.

Verrier is one who makes painted or stained windows; also a rack for drying drinking glasses; vitrier is the common glazier. The term is applied familiarly to soldiers in infantry batallions.

Note: Truie and Troie cannot be allowed as doublets; truie is from Troja, while Troie is from Troja.



# PART II

## THE MIDDLE FRENCH PERIOD

# CHAPTER IV. - HUMANISTIC INFLUENCE

The language of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in France is commonly known as Middle French. Brunot has pointed out (vol. i, 403) that it was during these two centuries of almost continual war and pestilence that the transformation into the modern language took place, while the peculiar characteristics of the older language disappeared. For a brief period, during the reigns of John I and Charles V (1350-1380) the influence of the Italian pre-Renaissance was felt at Paris; a royal library was established under the charge of Bersuire, disciple of Petrarch and secretary to Jean le Bon; and the first translations of Aristotle into French were made by the erudite Nicholas d' Oresme (1377). As a result of this Humanistic influence, a large number of learned words appeared in the language; inevitably, many of them were doublets of popular words already in use. In fact, upon adding to the learned doublets introduced during this period the popular doublets first appearing in the manuscripts of these two centuries, it has been found that such a list comprises more than half of the doublets in the language. Toward the end of the fifteenth century, the

wars with Italy served to acquaint Frenchmen with the learning of their southern neighbors and resulted in the assimilation of many Italianisms, some of which naturally were doublets. The most important period of Italian influence, however, did not come until the reign of Francis I (1515-47). Later the arrival of Catherine de Medici at the French court, with her entourage of gallant courtiers, so deeply permeated French society with their manners and their speech as to alarm the erudite Henri Estienne, himself so violently opposed to the Italianizing of his mother tongue.

Among individual writers who contributed to the language the largest number of learned doublets during the period, the two Humanists, Bersuire and Oresme, stand forth with almost equal prominence. Learned in classical Latin beyond any of their predecessors who had deigned to write in French, it was quite natural that these two scholars should enrich the vocabulary of the vulgar tongue by borrowing from the "nobler" parent speech.

The following learned doublets are found in Bersuire's Rommans de Titus Livius, written about 1362:

AGRARIUM	agrier agraire
CAPITALE	chatel cheptel captal capital
COHORTEM	cour cohorte
COLONIA	cologne colonie
CONSTANTEM	coûtant constant
CUMULARE	combler cumuler
FABRICA	forge fabrique
FACTIONEM	façon faction

IMPRIMERE empreindre imprimer

INTERPAUSARE entreposer interposer

NATIVUM naïf natif

PRAEBENDA provende prébende retorquer

RUSTICUM rustre rustique

Let us look into the history of a few of the above, viz., CAPITALE, COHORTEM, FACTIONEM, NATIVUM, RUSTICUM:

Cheptel — capital < CAPITALE.

The Latin neuter form CAPITALE was used elliptically in the classical language to mean 'capital crime:'

Ut quaedam animalia intermisse CAPITALE sit.

Mela; i, 58.

In the Salic law (sixth century), the term is used in the sense of 'property,' 'cattle and sheep:'

Si quis messem vastaverit CAPITALE in locum restituat. Salic Law, 9, 1.

Si quis puerum aut puellam de ministerium sic furaverit, tot solidos in CAPITALEM restituat.

Id., 9, 3.

The Provençal derivative *captal* designated a servant of high rank, being approximately equivalent to the Old French *maire du palais.*<sup>39</sup> The Old French forms *catel* and *chatel* passed into English as 'cattle' and 'chattel.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Cf. modern Provençal capitoul, from CAPITULUM, meaning 'a municipal officer' particularly at Toulouse.

Dunc il rendra le chatel.

Lois de Guillaume, 4.

The modern French term *cheptel* owes its spelling to etymological restoration, the *p* not being pronounced. Semantically, the meaning has been narrowed to a legal application: the contract exchanged between the owner of cattle and the party who proposes to supply them with food and shelter for a stated length of time. There are three kinds of such contracts recognized by law: *cheptel simple*, in which the farmer undertakes to provide complete care and shelter; *cheptel à moitié*, in which either food or shelter is provided by each of the contracting parties; and *cheptel à fer*, by the terms of which the farmer engages to return at the end of the period cattle equal in value to those originally placed under his charge. By extension, the term is applied to the cattle which are the subject of such contracts.

The learned word capital shows an expanded meaning derived from changes in economic life. In the middle ages, wealth depended upon the possession of domestic animals, chiefly "cattle." The gradual increase in the use of money coupled with the growth of urban populations led to the establishment of new criteria for the measurement of wealth. This new kind of wealth received the designation capital.

In the modern language, capital signifies the money or marketable wealth which one possesses; as a technical term of Economics, it means money considered as an instrument or means of production.40

Cour — cohorte < COHORTEM.

The Latin cohors was a term of wide application. Besides the well-known connotation of a military division, cohors was used to designate a cleared space prepared for the military exercises, the origin of this name being found in the rustic application of the term to the barn-yard—a cleared space. In Gaul, the term was used to designate the country châteaux about which grew up the small villages some of which preserve the term court in their modern designations—Agincourt, Magnicourt, etc. This meaning of cour persisted beyond the time of Charlemagne; by the time of Charles le Chauve, cour was used to mean 'the king's castle'—his residence and his entourage. It is in this latter meaning that the word is first recorded:

A sel mandat et cio li dist A curt fust sempre lui servist.

St. Léger, 44.

Meillor vassal n'aveit en la curt nul. Roland, 231.

The meaning 'law-court' first appears in the Lois de Guil-laume (6):

Qu'il i ai a droit en la curt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Cf. Spanish caudal and capital. Caudal means property, wealth, also abundance, plenty; as an adjective (rio caudal) 'full', 'broad'.

At first, this use of *cour* applied literally to the king's court,<sup>41</sup> but later the establishment of courts throughout the kingdom led to a generalization of the term:

A Bedeforde out un bacheler Qui la gent firent en *curt* juger.

Text of thirteenth century in Greferena.

The legal designation of a higher court in England is still 'His Majesty's court.'

In Middle French *cour* was sometimes used to signify a part of the castle:

La basse cour fu prise et arse.

Froissart, Chron., II, ii, 65.

In the modern language basse-cour means 'hen-yard.' The gender of cour meaning yard was originally masculine.

The orthography *cour* is explained by Darmesteter (H. D. T.) as being due to the influence of mediaeval Latin curia, used to translate French *curt* in the feudal sense.

Façon — faction < FACTIONEM.

Classical Latin factio signified both 'kind' and 'manner.' The folk formation in French preserves these connotations, to which have been added several analogical meanings. In the earliest instances of its use *façon* means 'make' (workmanship) 'manner:'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Cf. the development of Spanish corte (doublet cohorte) where a special political development still bears a name that was once completely appropriate.

Vint piez encontrement aveit, Trente pilers ot environ A ars de molt bele façon.

Eneas, 7580.

Modern French employs the term in the same meaning:

En voyant des vers de sa façon.

Molière, Misanthrope, i, 2.

C'est un contrat en fort bonne façon. Racine, Plaideurs, iii, 4.

In agriculture, façon means the 'dressing' or 'fertilizers' applied to the soil to increase productivity.

Un champ reçoit plusieurs façons.

In naval architecture, façon is used to designate the curves in the ship's keel, which are most important to the general appearance of the craft.

Figuratively, façon means the 'make-up,' 'external appearance' of any thing, as in the expression, une façon de menuisier, 'a sort of carpenter.' Façon is used frequently as a synonym of manière or méthode as 'way' 'fashion' are used in colloquial English:

La façon de donner vaut mieux que ce qu'on donne. Corneille, Menteur, i, 1.

Tout alla de façon Qu'il ne vit plus aucun poisson.

La Fontaine, Fables, vii, 4.

Je ne le connaissais, pas en façon du monde (English "in any way, shape or fashion").

St. Simon, i, 9.

By further extension, façon means 'affectation in manners' 'ado:'

D'accepter sans façons l'époux qu'on vous destine. Molière, Sganarelle, 1.

Pour moi, je n'en fais point de façons.

Id., Misanthrope, iv. 1.

The English word fashion has been used in French during the last century to mean 'the style of exclusive society;' more recently it has been employed to mean this society itself.<sup>42</sup> It seems to be thoroughly assimilated in French and may be considered a doublet of façon and faction.

The learned form faction reproduces a rare connotation of the Classical Latin factionem, meaning 'a group of individuals bound together for political action subversive of the official program of state;' Bersuire uses the term in his translation of Livy, explaining its meaning for the elucidation of his readers, as follows:

Faccion n'est autre chose que aucune alliance privée, si comme est conspiracion ou conjuracion ou machinacion.

Oresme used the term as a synonym for façon:

Action et faction different en espece. Car faction est operation par laquelle on oeuvre en matière dehors, si comme doler ou forger.

In spite of this cautious distinction made by Oresme,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Cf. Bonaffé, E., Dictionnaire Etym. et Historique des Anglicismes. Paris, 1920.

later writers employed faction as a synonym for 'action,' particularly 'military action:'

En toute cette faction nous ne perdismes que quatre fantacins et un capitaine italien.

Du Villars, Mémoires (in G.).

At a still later date *faction* was used in the pejorative sense of 'bad action' or 'deceit:'

Il est dit que tout ce qui avoit esté fait par la Pucelle n'estoit que factions et tromperie pour seduire le peuple. E. Pasquier (in G.).

Faction meaning 'military action' still occurs in the modern language, but very rarely. In the meaning of "guard duty" faction is of common occurrence: "Relever un soldat de sa faction."

As a persistence of the Latin connotation of 'act' or 'action,' faction is still used in legal terminology, meaning the 'act of testifying:' "Faction de testament."

Most often faction is employed in the modern tongue as Bersuire used it, meaning 'a group of persons united for some political action:'

Les factions gibeline et guelfe divisaient plus que jamais l'Italie.

Voltaire, Mœurs, 65.

Naïf — natif < NATIVUM.

Naif and natif were used indifferently until the sixteenth century; occasionally thereafter:

D'un cœur natif.

L'outré d'amour (text in G.).

De son teint la naïve blancheur. La Fontaine, Clymène.

Naïve for native persists in the technical phrase pointe naïve, a diamond which naturally bears a pyramidal shape. In the older language naïf is common in the sense of 'rough' or 'unpolished' where the modern idiom employs brut:

Qant Murgafiers lor sort d'une roiche naie. J. Bodel, Saisnes, clxxiii.

Distingua le naïf du plat et du buffon. Boileau, Art poétique, 1.

Natif represents the Classical Latin NATIVUM in French.

Ou bon pays de Haynnau, dont je suis *natif*. Froissart, *Chron.*, XI.

Il est natif de la dite paroisse.

Both naif and natif (as, indeed, is true of most adjectives) are used as substantives: "Les natifs de Paris;" "Il est un naif."

Rustre — rustique < RUSTICUM.

The popular doublet *rustre* has definitely assumed a pejorative sense in French which was only suggested in the Classical Latin RUSTICUS. The association of rude manners with country folk is not peculiarly a French development; Spanish *rústico* serves as the designation of a coarse or awkward fellow as well as to signify 'countrified' or *rustic*. The French *rustre* preserves the same meaning in the modern language that it exhibits in the

first recorded instance of its use in the fourteenth century:

Ung rustre eut envie sur lui.

Text in H. D. T.

Venerunt gallandi amorosi et RUSTICI, les rustes qui dixerunt.

Menot, Sermon sur la Madeleine.

Mon rustre de mari.

Molière, Sganarelle, 6.

The learned form *rustique* represents Latin RUSTICUS plus modern analogical extensions of meaning:

Ferrements rustiques.

Bersuire, Titus Livius.

Manières rustiques; sièges rustiques; plantes rustiques (hardy plants); ouvrage rustique (in architecture, 'rough stone work').

The following learned doublets appear for the first time in the translations of Aristotle made in 1377 by Nicholas Oresme.

AL-SEMDT (Arabic) azimut zénit attitude aptitude APTITUDINEM cercler circuler CIRCULARE cistre guitare cithare CITHARA communier communiquer COMMUNICARE confiance confidence CONFIDENTIA COPULARE coupler copuler dilettante délectant DELECTANTEM exhalaison exhalation EXHALATIONEM

FRAGILIS frêle fragile

INCLINATIONEM inclinaison inclination

LEGALIS loyal légal

MATUTINALEM matinal matutinal nutritionem nourrisson nutrition

PARTIALIS partiel partial
PERAGRINUS pèlerin pérégrin
RECOLLIGERE recueillir récolliger

Follows a list of the passages in Oresme in which these doublets occur:

Le point du ciel qui est tout droit sus nostre teste est appellé *cenith*.

L'en peust circuler ou aler tout entour.

Cithare ce est cythole; et lira, ce est harpe.

C'est forte chose de communer ou communiquer.

A la confidence de l'aide de nostre seigneur Jesu Christ.

A ceste doubte est copulée et prochaine une autre doubte.

Soi delecter est propre as choses qui ont ame.

Les vapeurs ou *exhalacions* qui sont entre nous et le solail.

Cette chose semble estre fragile et petite. Inclination suivie par l'esprit humain.

Un homme est dit légal qui garde les loys.

Planetes sont matutineles et du vespre.

La nutrition ou digestion se fait mieux en dormant.

Volonté parcial.

Le peregrin qui voyageoit au sainct temple.

Recolligier ou recueillir.

Of the above, the following are chosen for discussion:

Azimut — zénit < AL-SEMDT.

Both azimut and zénit are learned words. The latter, however, shows an extension of meaning not present in the Arabic etymon, which means 'the direction' or 'the way.' In the language of the Arabic astronomers the term AL-SEMDT meant a 'point' or 'direction' on the compass or on the horizon, and the arc extending from this point to another point directly over the head of the observer called in the Arabic 'samt al-ra's,' that is 'zenith.' In modern astronomy azimuth is the term used to designate the arc of the horizon between the plane of the meridian and a vertical circle drawn through the center of a given celestial body. 'Azimuth' appears earlier in English than in French:

From this *senyth*... ther come a maner krokede strikes like to the clawes of a coppe kervyng overthart the almikanteras. And this same strikes or divisions ben cleped *azymuthz*. Thise *Azimutz* serven to know the costes of the firmament.

Chaucer, Astrolabe, i, 19.

Cercles imparfaitz appelez par les Arabes azimuthz.

Jacquinot, Astrolabe, 15 (late fifteenth century).

Zenith represents the point from which the vertical line is dropped to the horizon. Since this point is in astronomy a star above the observer, zenith comes to mean in general parlance 'the portion of the heavens directly above the

observer.' Like many other learned terms first appearing in Oresme, a long period elapsed before zénit reappeared in the written language.

Le point du ciel qui est tout droit sus noste teste est appellé cenith.

Oresme, Translation of De Coelo terraque.

Et ont leur zenich en esquinoctial.

Text of 1493 (in G.).

Communier -- communiquer < COMMUNICARE.

Communier first appears in French in the sense of ecclesiastical Latin COMMUNICARE:

missae cantat fist mul ben poblen lo rei communiet.

St. Léger, 83.

Not until the fourteenth century do we find it in the sense of Classical Latin COMMUNICARE:

Tant qu'il n'est riens qu'el ne luy communie Touchant beauté pour croistre son roman. Le Plaisant Boutehors d'oysiveté, (in G.).

The use of communier in this latter meaning was ephemeral; it was soon supplanted by the learned form communiquer, and henceforth communier is restricted to 'the taking of the sacrament.' This meaning is found in the Latin of the Church Fathers, Tertullian and Augustine, and in the Vulgate. For example:

Ut his verbis tota facie corpore Christi et sanguine COMMUNICEMUS.

St. Augustine, Sermon 17, 5.

Communiquer continues in the modern language the Classical Latin connotation of COMMUNICARE, being synonymous with transmettre < TRANSMITTERE. Reflexively, the verb means to enter into communication with someone. An obsolescent figurative use of communiquer, common in the seventeenth century meant 'to take part in,'— a connotation closely allied to that of the popular form.

Le cœur communique à telle depravation. Bouchet, Sérées, iii, 177.

An extension of this meaning is common in modern legal phraseology.

Le conseil pourra communiquer avec l'accusé après son interrogatoire.

Code d'instruction criminelle, art. 302.

By analogy, the common figurative use:

Les deux maisons communiquent par une galérie.

Spanish comulgar and comunicar have developed similarly to the French doublets just mentioned. The expression comulgar con ruedas de molino—'to be a credulous person'—is old and interesting. Comunicar corresponds semantically to communiquer.

Loyal — légal < LEGALIS.

Loyal did service in the sense of Classical Latin LEGALIS until the adoption of the learned form légal caused the popular form to be supplanted in this sense. The system of chivalry led to the establishment of a new code of laws—laws of honor, love and probity—and he who con-

formed to these laws was called *loyal*. During the Old French period, *loyal* most frequently served in this connotation.

S'il fust *leials* ben resemblast barun. Roland, 3764.

Pour donner exemple aux aultres d'estre loiales a leurs maris.

Froissart, Chroniques, ii, 339.

Secours et champion de dames et de pucelles, de veufves et d'orphelins en tous leurs *loyaulx* besoings.

\*Perceforest, cxxii, 35.

In the sense of 'legitimate,' 'lawful:'

Et autre ki blasmé ait esté, se escundirad par serment numé, ceo est a saveir per xiiii humes leals par num...

Laws of William the Conqueror, 17.

Plaie loyale — phrase of feudal law meaning a 'wound inflicted by one vassal upon another of the width and depth of an inch,' as punishment for which the guilty one was to pay the lord 7 pounds, 8 sous.

Légal represents in the modern language the meaning of Classical Latin LEGALIS. Loyal is used only in the sense of 'true' and 'loyal' in the English sense.

Pèlerin — pérégrin < PERAGRINUM.

Latin PERAGRINARE, for PERAGRINARI, (PER plus AGER) was used in the late Latin period with the meaning 'to wander from place to place.' The adjective PERAGRINUS used as a substantive meant 'a wanderer,' more particularly

the type familiar in the middle ages bent upon paying a visit to some sacred shrine or the Holy City. French pèlerin represents this latter idea in the earliest cases of its use:

Si vint a Verone en Lombardie et herberja en la vile et trova des *pelerins* assez et des gens qui s'en aloient en l'ost.

Villehardouin, Conquête de Constantinople, 41.

Suz mun degret gist uns morz pelerins. St. Alexis, Strophe 71.

As pelerrins fait oster tost Son hiayme et sa coif abatre. Gilles de Chin, 2142.

As an adjective *pèlerin* refers to foreign falcons which were used in the chase but which were not generally satisfactory, since they were acclimated with difficulty. In this sense both *pèlerin* and *pérégrin* occur:

Le faulcon que on dit *pelerin* qui est moult bon mais il est tendre a la froidure.

Text in G.

En celle mer sont ysles ou font leur niz maintz oyseaulx qui ne sont trouvez fors que en icelle ysle, et nommeement faulcons et *pellerins* et esmerillons.

Livre des Hystoires des Parties d'Orient, J. Hayton (text in G.).

Ce sont oiseaulx pérégrins.

Rabelais, iv, 352.

Pérégrin occurs in Oresme, according to Godefroy, in

the sense of traveler or stranger. This meaning is found in the sixteenth century, but is considered obsolete by Furetière in the seventeenth.

Je jette cris de lamentable voix Voyant ainsi bergiers de toutes parts Par faux pasteurs dechassez et espars, Lesquels fuyans la peine a eux prochaine Sont peregrins en région lointaine. C. Marot, Elégie vi.

Pérégrin is common in the meaning 'strange' or 'foreign:'

Il est contraint en obeyssant mettre la main et la plume a matiere si elegant ou *peregrine* que elle transcede la summite de son intelligence.

La Nef de Santé (Text in G.).

En langage pérégrin.

Montaigne, Essais, I, iii, xiii, p. 330.

In the modern language pérégrin is used only in the feminine form as a substantive to indicate a famous pearl of the crown of Spain. This is probably due to ellipsis; la pierre or perle pérégrine>la pérégrine. In Middle French pérégrin was used to indicate a foreigner domiciled in Rome or in one of the countries under her dominion.—

The expression communion pérégrine, meaning a sort of ecclesiastical punishment whereby a priest was deprived of the right to preach publicly in the church and was temporarily or permanently lowered in rank, is rarely used in modern French.

# CHAPTER V. -- INFLUENCE OF THE RHÉTORIQUEURS

Although the Rhétoriqueurs revelled in intellectual and formal poetry, there was not one among them — Crétin, Jean Marot, Meschinot, Molinet or Jean le Maire — capable, in spite of all their latinizing, of influencing profoundly the language. Most of the many neologisms which occur in their writings were never assimilated by the language, or else were temporarily forgotten and re-introduced as new terms at a much later date. (Cf. Brunot, i, 501.) The "urge" to create a vehicle that should be capable of conveying the delicate and the lofty ideas which were now in larger process of being re-discovered in the classics, led inevitably to an unrestricted borrowing from the nobler tongue. Oresme (Introduction to Aristotle's *Ethics*) thus excuses himself for his latinizing:

Si comme entre innumerables exemples puet apparoir de ceste tres commune proposition: Homo est animal. Car homo signifie homme et femme, et nul mot de françoys ne signifie équivalent, et animal signifie toute chose qui a ame sensitive et sent quant l'en la touche, et il n'est nul mot en françoys qui ce signifie precisement. Et ainsi de plusieurs noms et verbes et mesmement de aucuns sincathegoremes, si comme pluseurs propositions et autres, qui tres souvent sont es livres dessus dis que l'on ne puet bien translater en françoys.

To make his translations intelligible to the reader, Oresme wisely added a table of *mots étranges* arranged alphabetically, with references to these explanations in the body of the text.

What the vulgar tongue most conspicuously lacked was that rich facility in synonyms which gave such a wealth of expression to the Classical languages. The translator of Les quatre Livres des Rois pointed out this poverty of vocabulary in the vulgar tongue in the following lines of his introduction. (Brunot, i, 517.)

Aucune fois, li latins ait plusours mos que en romans nous ne poions exprimer ne dire proprement, tant est imperfaite nostre laingue; si com on dit ou latin erue, eripe, libera me, pour lesquelz III mos en latin, nous disons un soul mot en romans, delivre-moi.

One of the most natural consequences of this need was the introduction of doublets, a procedure which resulted in making this the most prolific period in the contribution of doublet groups in the entire history of the language. A large proportion of these doublets of the Middle French period were "learned" in form. The following list includes the learned doublets contributed by writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries other than Bersuire and Oresme:

AESTUARIAUM étier estuaire

AMYGDALAM amande amygdale

ANATICULAM nille anille
ANNATAM année annate

APPREHENDERE apprendre appréhender

ARMATURAM armure armature
ASSOPIRE assouvir assoupir
AVISTARDAM bitarde outarde

BASTITA bâtie bastide

BASTONNATA bâtonnée bastonnade (Spanish)

BOMBAGGINE (Italian) basin bombasin BREVEM brief bref BUCCAM bouche bouque

CAVALLICATA chevauchée cavalcade champ camp (Italian)

CAPANNAM cabine cabane CAPARAZÓN (Spanish) caparasse caparaçon

CAPPA chape cape
CAPTIVUM chétif captif
CARONIAM charogne carogne
CARTULARIUM Chartrier cartulaire
CAVARE chevrer caver

CENTENARIUM centenier centenaire

CHARTAM Charte carte
CHOLERAM COIère Choléra
CINCTURARE CINTER CEINTURER
CINGULARE Sangler Cingler
COCTIONEM CUISSON COCTION
COMPLETAS COMPLIES COMPLÈTES

CREDENTIAM créance croyance crédence
CUCULLAM coule cuculle cagoule
CUCURBITAM gourde cucurbite courge

CURSARIUM coursier corsaire

DACTYLE datte dactyle

DECADENTIAM déchéance décadence délibérer

DICTUM dit dicton dictum
DUCATUM duché ducat

EXAMEN essaim examen EXPLICATUM éployé expliqué

EXQUADRA équerre escadre escouade

EXSUCARE essuyer essucquer

GAMBATA jambée gambade

GRAVEM grief grave
HEREDITARIUM héritier héréditaire

HRING (Germanic) rang harangue

IMPLICARE employer impliquer
INCLUDERE enclore inclure
INDURATUM enduré induré
INFANTEM enfant infant
INGENIARE engeigner ingénier

INQUISITOREM enquêteur inquisiteur INSIGNIA enseigne insigne

LIBERATIONEM livraison libération

LIGATURAM liure ligature

maiele macule MACULAM mistral magistral MAGISTRALIAM mandé mandat MANDATUM MARKA (Germanic) marche marque moven médian MEDIANUM maille médaille METALLEAM moutier monastère MONASTERIUM moule muscle muscule MUSCULUM

NATALEM noël natal
NAVIGARE nager naviguer
NYCK (Dutch) niche nique
PALAM pelle pale

PALISATA palissée palissade
PALATINUM paladin palatin
PALMAM paume palme
PASSATA passée passade
PAUSAM pose pause
PENICILLUM pinceau pénicille

PHALANCEM planche phalange palanque

PHANTASTICUM fantasque fantastique

PLACET plaît placet
PODAGRUM pouacre podagre
POKKO (Germanic) poche poque

PRAEDICATOREM prêcheur prédicateur

PRECARIA prière précaire
PRESIDENTIAM préséance présidence
PULSATIVUM poussif pulsatif

QUAMQUAM cancan quanquam

RASUM rez ras
RATIONEM raison ration
RECOLLECTA récolte récollette

RELAXARE relaisser relaxer relâcher

RESPECTUM répit respect RETORTUM riorte retorte

REVENDICARE revancher revendiquer

RHYTHMUM rime rythme rupturam roture rupture

SALATA	salée salade
SARCOPHAGUM	cercueil sarcophage
SCABINUM	échevin scabin
SEPARARE	sevrer séparer
SIMULARE	sembler simuler
SINISTRAM	sénestre sinistre
SOLICITARE	soucier solliciter
SORTEM	sort sorte
SPATHULAM	épaule spatule
STIPULARE	étioler stipuler
SUPERSALTUM	sursaut soubresaut

TACTUM tac tact
TAENIAM ténie ténia
TAPPO (Germanic) tampon tapon
TELETTAM toilette tellette
TERRITORIUM terroir territoire
THYRSUM torse thyrse trou
TOCCARE toucher toquer

VALENTEM vaillant valant
VARIOLAM vérole variole
VIATICUM voyage viatique
VINDICARE venger vendiquer
VIPERAM guivre vipère
VIRGAM verge vergue

The following are chosen for discussion:

Colère — choléra < CHOLERAM.

Classical Latin Cholera was a learned borrowing from the Greek  $\chi o\lambda \hat{\epsilon} \rho a$ , signifying an ailment of the 'bile' or liquid element of man's nature. The medical philosophy of the middle ages developed the Greek idea to the absurd tenets of Paracelsus and the alchemistic school. In Late Latin Calida Cholera, meaning 'anger,' is found in contexts where the classical language would have used IRA:

Si quis alteri pedem, manum aut oculum in CALIDA CHOLERA abstulerit, 60 libram em. reus erit.

Text of 1266 in Du Cange.

Throughout the Old French period *ire* < IRA is used to mean 'anger:'

Icil chevalchent fierement e a *ire*, puis escrient l'enseigne paienisme.

\*Roland\*, 1921.

Ja fud tels om, deu inimix, qui l'encusat ab Chielpering: l'ira fud granz cum de senior, et sancz Lethgiers oc s'ent pavor.

St. Léger, 73.

Only one example of a derivative of CHOLERA is found up to the latter part of the fifteenth century:

Qui les orroit de colerique Pleidoier ou de fleumatique.

G. de Provins, Bible, 2574.

The earliest appearance of *colère* in French is in the meaning attributed to CHOLERA in Classical Latin:

Medicines usuales et simples qui purgent la colere.

La Chirurgie de Guy de Chauliac,
edition of 1490.

Probably this first serious treatise in French on medical science employs the term as a direct borrowing of the Latin word. The orthography varies during the sixteenth century. In the following passage a similar confusion of spelling exists, but there can be no doubt that *colère* in the modern sense was what was in the writer's mind.

Desdain meslé de cholere.

J. Le Maire des Belges (text in G.).

During the seventeenth century *colère* was used as an adjective:

Du nom de philosophe elle fait grand mystère, Mais elle n'en est pas pour cela moins colère.

Molière, Femmes savantes, ii, 9.

This use is practically obsolete in modern French.

Employer — impliquer < IMPLICARE.

In the earliest examples of its use in French, *employer* means 'to plunge' or 'thrust' (modern *enfoncer*):

N'en i ad cel sa lance n'i empleit.

Roland, 3418.

Que parmi le cors li *emploie* le fer dont la lance ne ploie.

Perceval, (text in G.).

In mediaeval Latin there appears an expression, IN SER-

VITIO IMPLICARE, the phrase being equivalent in meaning to modern French *employer*:

Judicatum est ab omnibus ut si francus homo vel ingenus femina in servitio sponte sua implicaverit.

Text of 819 in Du Cange.

This use of *employer* is found as early as the second half of the twelfth century:

Tous li dient, vostre soit dont! bien i est *enploiez* li dons.

Guillaume d'Angleterre, 882.

In this sense *employer* is still in common use.

J'employais les soupirs et même la menace. Racine, Brittanicus, ii, 2.

The phrase employer le vert et le sec is due to the ellipsis of the word bois; le bois vert et le bois sec in the meaning 'use fair and foul means to accomplish a purpose.' Bien employé sometimes means bien fait:

Ce seroit bien employé, monsieur, si vous estiez empoisonné.

Marguerite de Navarre, *Heptameron*, 70<sup>me</sup> nouvelle.

The learned doublet form *impliquer* first appears during the fourteenth century, meaning 'to contain' or 'envelope:'

Terre et mere vous obeyra Et ce que dedans s'implique.

Text of fifteenth century (in G.).

Ce que le ciel circuyt et implique.

Text of sixteenth century (in G.).

In the sense of 'to fasten upon' or 'enlace:'

Et sont les capreoles et chevelures ou les feuilles de la vigne blanche se *impliquent* et suspendent semblables aux nostres.

Jardin de Santé (text in G.).

# Figuratively:

Les hommes seculiers s'impliquent a vanitez et es choses mondaines.

P. Ferguet, text of 1482 (in G.).

In the sense of 'complicate:'

Non obstant ses douleurs et tant de maladies impliquées. Th. de Bèze, Vie de Calvin, (in H. D. T.)

In philosophical parlance *impliquer* has come, by reason of an ellipsis, to mean 'contradict one another;' ces deux propositions *impliquent contradiction*>ces deux propositions *impliquent*:

Mariage à défaut de paiement: les deux propositions impliqueraient.

Beaumarchais, Figaro, iii, 15.

Moyen — médian < MEDIANUM.

Latin MEDIANUS was used during the classical period in the sense of 'average price,' in such expressions as MEDIANA EQUA and MEDIANUS TAURUS. In MEDIANA VOX and MEDIANA VENA it seems synonymous with MEDIUS.

In late Latin the term appears as a substantive, meaning 'intermediary' or 'intercession.'

Electo per MEDIANUM suum.

Du Cange, eighth century.

Moyen first appears in French meaning 'average' or 'common:'

Si vuz dormez entre *meiens* clergiez, pennes de colombe surargentedes.

Oxford Psalms, lxvii, 14.

Joseph estoit molt moiens hom;

Petit avoit de garison.

Text of 1223 (in G.).

Cilz pechiez (luxure) est part tout communaulz et movens;

A crestiennes gens, a Juys, a payens.

Jean de Meung, Testament (in G.).

In the latter part of the thirteenth century moyen is used as a synonym for milieu:

Car ce sont deux extremites Que richesce et mendicites Li moyens a non soffisance.

Roman de la Rose, 12197.

Bien est advisé celui qui sait garder le moyen et qui porte gentilmente autant les prosperities en cette vie comme les adversities.

Amyot (text in G.).

Froissart is the first to use moyen as a substantive meaning 'intermediary:'

Et li doi cardinal estoient traitieur et moyen et alant de l'un a l'aultre.

Froissart, Chroniques, v, 196.

A la prière et *moyen* du duc de Lancastre. Ibid., xv, 271.

The term occurs also as a synonym of protecteur:

Lesquielz furent moiens et protecteurs. (Text in G.)

The expression sans moyen was nearly equivalent to the later phrase sans façon:

Sans nul moien ne reservation.

Froissart, Chroniques, x, 145.

Ensi prist ses messages, si les envoia sans moyen al marchis Boniface.

Villehardouin (text in G.).

In the modern language *moyen* preserves most of its acquired connotations with some few extensions of meaning, as in the following expressions:

La moyenne latinité, le moyen français, etc.

Prendre un moyen terme (to choose a middle course for effecting a conciliation).

Cours moyen (the average price of stock on the Bourse for any given day).

Le moyen mathématique.

The learned doublet first appears in the fifteenth century; it remains a rarely employed term and it still savors of the bookish:

Vaine qui est dicte la mediaine.

O. de la Haye (in H. D. T.).

Veine appelles vulgairement mediane.

A. Paré, iv, 21.

Médiane (in Cotgrave, 1611) the back or middle veine; the inward branch of the shoulder veine; descending downe the arme unto the hand and there dispersing itself among the fingers.

The term first appears in mathematics in the seventeenth century:

Il n'est pas necessaire que ces deux lignes mediannes soient si justement l'une derrière l'autre.

E. Vinet et Mizauld, Maison champestre, page 176. Paris, 1607.

Nager - naviguer < NAVIGARE.

A single example of NAVIGARE used in the meaning 'to swim' is recorded in Classical Latin:

Postque morae minimum 'iam certe NAVIGAT' inquam. Lentaque dimotis bracchia iactat aquis.

Ovid, Heroïdes, xix, 47.

The usual word in Latin meaning to swim was NATARE. To account for Old French noer it is necessary to suppose that a popular form NOTARE existed in the Latin of Gaul. Throughout the Old and Middle French periods noer (later nouer) is the usual term used to mean 'to swim.'

Li cevals noe, dedens l'eve s'estent. Raimbert, Ogier, 1974.

Et toutes les bestes qui volent par l'air et noent par l'iaue.

B. Latini, Trésor, éd. Chabaille, 12.

As late as 1622, nouer appears meaning 'to swim:'

Prendre l'air, fendre le vent... nouer entre deux airs et aultres telles façons de parler pour dire le vol de l'oyseau.

R. François, Merveilles de Nature, p. 54.

During the second half of the fifteenth century it was still commonly used; *nager* began to be generally used in the sense of 'to swim' during the first half of the sixteenth century, though *nouer* still occurs:

Et s'aventuroyent de nouer en tel estat la rivière. O. de la Marche, Mém. i, 28.

Ceux qui peurent echapper nagèrent le fossé. Ibid. Mém., ii, 13.

Et jusques a faire essay de nager le Rin a cheval. Ibid. Intro. v.

In the following passage from Ronsard, nouer is used where we should more naturally expect nager or naviguer:

Advienne qu'une de vous Nouant la mer passagère Se joigne a quelqu'un de nous Par une nopce estrangère.

Odes, I, v, 3, ed. 1584, p. 375.

Nager appears early in the meaning 'to navigate:' Siglent a fort et nagent et guvernent.

Roland, 2631.

Ja orent fait les nes appareillier Ou se feront droit a Cornet nagier.

Enfances Ogier, 7443.

Chil nage contre fort escluse Qui ses propres serjans acuse.

R. de Moiliens, Carité, cxli, 1.

Its use in this sense may be observed as late as the sixteenth century:

Attendre vent propice et oportun pour nager.

Cent Nouvelles nouvelles, 100.

Ceux qui nagent entre deux eaux, sont du tout traistres à Dieu.

Calvin, Sermons (text in G.).

The disappearance of *nouer* meaning 'to swim' is possibly due to the confusion of the term with *nouer* < Latin NODARE, 'to knot.' Early records of *nager* used in place of *nouer* are the following:

Aval tres parmi la riviere Nagierent tant, ce m'est aviere Qu'il sont venu au pavellon La ou trova son compaignon Qui iluec atentu l'avoit.

Les Mervelles de Rigomer, 11,997 -12,101.

Atant s'en vont sanz nul delai, Bien demijor parmi un lai; Le va najant li anemis.

G. de Coinci, Miracle (in G.).

Il faut qu'il naige qui est soutenu par le menton. Palsgrave, Eclaircissement, etc. p. 451.

Naviguer began to displace nager in the sense of 'to navigate' in the early part of the sixteenth century:

Esmeu a naviguer la mer oceane.

M. du Redouer, Le Nouveau Monde, (in H. D. T.).

Vaugelas reports a controversy concerning the proper form of the word; was it more correct to say naviguer or naviger? He states that the court preferred the latter form and he supports this spelling. Writing in 1771, Tréville states that naviguer is the commoner pronunciation and is that used by seamen.

Rez — ras< RASUM.

After a long period of uncertainty, the learned form ras has maintined its place in the modern language while the popular form rez has become nearly obsolete save in the phrase rez-de-chaussée. Latin RADERE developed into Old French redre>rère, later written raire. The past participle of the earlier form res, presently spelled rez, persisted as an adjectival form along side of rai, the new form created by etymological reaction, which is still used in the modern language in proverbial expressions:

A barbe de fou on apprend à raire.

Un barbier rait l'autre (one thief helps another).

Rez occurs early in the Old French texts:

Res a res li copa l'oreille.

Florimont (text in G.).

Reis et reis li tranchait l'oreille.

Ibid.

Cheulx de Canbray l'abatirent res a res de terre. Froissart, Chroniques, ii, 209.

Du sel ont pris et retenu Tant que res furent leur panier.

Beaumanoir, Fole Larguece, 224. (1290 circa).

The adverbial phrase rez à rez, later altered to ras à ras, was considered old as early as the seventeenth century; Oudin (Grammaire françoise; Paris, 1632) states that this phrase is unknown to him; neither Nicot nor Monet mentions the expression. Rez was also used substantively:

Le mont Olympe a de haulteur depuis le rez de la plaine d'abas.

Amyot, Publius Aemilius, page 892, (1567).

Again it was used as an adjective, as modern ras is used:

Tout alentour le pais estoit rez et descouvert.

Amyot, Artaxerxes, (in G. 1560).

De moy vir rez seroit orreur Car je sembleroye tigneux.

E. Deschamps, Poés. iv, 65.

The phrase rez pied or rez terre, once common in the written language, is now nearly obsolete. It persisted vigorously up to the nineteenth century:

Puis raza rez pied rez terre, toute la forteresse. Amyot, Demetrius, (in G., 1560).

Pauvre théologiens qui ne volaient que rez pied, rez terre.

Bossuet, 6<sup>me</sup> Avertissement au Prot.

Ils s'établissent rarement à rez de terre. Buffon, Ours.

The phrase au rez de meaning 'except,' occurs in Middle French:

Et commandons au dessus dis que toute le rayme que il ont en leurs maisons, il faut oster dedens VIII jours, au rez de demi-cent.

Text of 1344 (in G.).

Rez-de-chaussée first appears in Nicot. (Tresor de la Langue Françoyse, Paris, 1606.)

Le mur est à rez-de-chaussée.

Ras first occurs in the meaning of 'a measure of grain.'

Deux raz d'avoine.

Text of 1429 (in G.).

It was used to indicate smooth-finished cloth:

Des chappeaulx les uns sont ras, les autres sont a poils. Rabelais, Gargantua, xiii. (1542.)

In this sense it is still used elliptically as a substantive, both in the masculine and feminine:

Elle était de ras de Châlons. Scarron, Virgile travesti, 4.

Etoffes de laine, comme rases, frises et étamines.

De Villars, Lettre à Colbert (text in H. D. T.).

In the modern language *ras* most frequently refers to hair. This use is first recorded by Cotgrave (1611):

To require or exact of a man more than he can yield. Vouloir prendre un homme ras par les cheveux.

Tondre ras un cheval.

Extensions of meaning are present in the phrases:

Table rase (a tablet without engraving of any kind). (faire table rase 'to make a clean sweep.')

Mesure rase (even measure).

Bâtiment ras (vessel without masts).

In Spanish, the masculine substantive ras means "identity' or 'equality of level between two or more objects.' The adverbial expression ras con ras means 'on the same level' or 'equally.' The adjective raso is the equivalent of French ras, and like it may be used as a substantive to refer to cloth—in particular to satin goods. Raso is used figuratively in the meaning plain, ordinary, simple,

Note: It seems probable that French ras was borrowed from Provençal ras of the same meaning. It is therefore, not a reversionary form of Latin RASUS.

— as in the expression un soldado raso — 'a "buck" private.'

Rime — rythme < RHYTHMUS (?).

It is difficult to determine the exact meaning of rime in Old French. There is no lack of examples upon which to base a semantic study, but unfortunately these examples do not help greatly to determine the answer to the question involved, namely, whether rime refers to the measured verse-form of poetry - the 'rhyme' or 'assonance' of the lines - or whether it refers more particularly to the external arrangement of the lines in rows on the sheet. If we accept the etymology of the Dictionnaire général, which allies the terms rime and rythme to RHYTH-MUS, we virtually subscribe to the former hypothesis concerning the meaning of rime. If, on the other hand, we accept Meyer-Lübke's etymology, which derives rime from Old High German RIM, meaning 'a row' or 'number,' the latter hypothesis as to the meaning of rime would seem to be the more probable. According to Mever-Lübke's etymology, rime and rythme are not doublets.43 However, the semantic development of the two words shows that they have generally been considered as such, rightly or wrongly, according to the etymology which may ultimately be agreed upon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Perhaps the following lines in Léonine verse will serve to clear the situation concerning the meaning of *rime* in Old French.

Ja mais ne vos erent dit vers De nule rime qui sels sanblent. Or entendés con il asanblent Et con il sont a dire fort! Hunbaut, 34-37 (Foerster).

Rimer appears early in the Old French texts:

Que unc ne soi rimer Ne raisun ordener.

P. de Thaun, Comput, 113.

The substantive first appears in the following:

Puis que des lais ai comencié Ja n'iert pur nul travail laissié Les aventures que jeo sai Tut par *rime* les cunterai.

Marie de France, Yonec, I.

The common English expression, 'without rhyme or reason,' goes back to a similar phrase in Middle French:

Leur peché si fort me desplet Veu qu'il n'y a raison ne rime.

Text of fifteenth century (in G.).

Oresme uses *rime* to translate Latin RHYTHMUS in the following passage from Aristotle's *Ethics*:

Il ne prent pas *rimes*, ainsi comme l'en use communement en françois de ce mot; il entent par *rime* toute mesure convenable de sillebes ou de sons... Les *rimes* et mesures des prononciations... Musique bien *rimée*.

In the modern language a clear distinction between *rythme* and *rime* is generally observed; *rime* refers to the consonance of the final accented syllable of the last word in two or more verses of poetry; *rythme* indicates the symmetrical distribution of a succession of sounds in music or poetry.

Darmesteter suggests that the gender of *rime* became feminine by analogy with other words ending in mute e which are, as a rule, of that gender. Whether we accept

his etymology of the word or not, it seems probable that this latter hypothesis is correct. As for the etymology, could there not have been influences working both ways, from the Latin and the Germanic elements, as a result of which the word *rime* was evolved as a sort of hybrid derivative through a contamination of the two possible etyma?

Rythme is first found in French in the following passage:

Rithme n'est aultre chose que langaige mesuré par longueur de syllabes en conveniente termination proporcionnallement accentué, lequel se faict en plusieurs manieres ou especes cy apres declarées.

P. Fabri, *Rhetorique*, ii, 2. (1520)

This definition is similar to that found in a grammar of mediaeval Latin quoted by Du Cange:

RYTHMUS est pedum temporumque junctura velox, divisa in arsi vel thesi, vel tempus, quo syllabas metimur. Differt autem RYTHMUS a metro quod metrum in verbis, RYTHMUS in modulatione ac motu corporis sit.

M. Victorianus, Artis grammaticae.

Rarely rythme has been used by extension (metonymy) meaning 'poetry:'

Je ne me soucye pas grandement d'ouyr vos rithmes ou chansons.

Bon. des Perriers, Lysis, p. 4 (1544).

Je ferais grand tort a notre rhythme.

La Boétie, Servitude Volontaire.

## CONCLUSION

Learned doublets constitute a relatively small but interesting subdivision of the "mots savants" found in the highly cultured languages of Western Europe. Their presence is particularly noticeable in those languages which contain a large proportion of Latin roots. In the broad sense, their introduction has been due, like that of learned words generally, to the proclivity for wordborrowing common to the educated portion of mankind. This predilection for the exotic in terminology may be attributed to somewhat definite psychological causes: the desire to discriminate accurately between closely related notions; the purposive will to resort to the scholarly or even the technical expression of ideas; or, in fine, recognition of linguistic necessity for the introduction of new expressions to meet ever recurring needs of new refinements of thought. The result of this imposition of a learned vocabulary upon the vernacular speech has been that frequently a native or indigenous word has been at different periods duplicated, from an etymological point of view, sometimes over and over again, with attendant phonetic and semantic differentiation.

To what extent was the formation of learned doublets a conscious process?

It is apparently the general impression that the medi-

aeval period was in the main devoid of philological insight, and doubtless this is to a certain extent correct. But however meager may have been the mediaeval scholars' recognition of the etymological origin of the hereditary elements of their native speech compared with the learned vocabulary with which they were familiar, the more acute among them undoubtedly recognized the existence of some sort of relationship. The orthography of Middle and Renaissance French is proof of a constant effort on the part of authors of all classes to imitate as closely as possible the external form of the Latin etymon.44 If they occasionally failed to recognize the real etymon, they were, in a great majority of cases, correct. The Rhétoriqueurs were the initiators of this movement to latinize the spelling of the French language, but it seems probable that they were merely putting into practice a theory of orthography that had been recognized long before they wrote. It is quite certain that the restored consonants in dict, faicte, recoipz, aultre, etc., were never pronounced but were introduced merely with a desire to simulate the Latin orthography. Usually the restoration of the consonant was etymologically correct, which proves that, in general, these writers were capable of intelligent philological observation. From this, it is safe to assume that the introduction of learned doublets was largely a conscious process.45 The innovator was aware of a 'double emploi'

<sup>45</sup> One can scarcely escape this conviction after a glance at the list of learned doublets contributed by Oresme, who uses

<sup>44</sup> Cf. J. Peletier, Dialogue de l'Ortografe, Paris, 1550; pp. 70-95 where this practice is explained and defended.

of the etymon and sought thereby to enrich the resources of his native speech.

Phonetically, learned doublets present a varying degree of similarity to the etymon. Frequently the mere substitution of a final vowel, in accordance with the phonology of the language, as in spathule, stampe, pituite, plane, or the omission of the inflectional ending, as in pastille, immobile, nutrition, pénicille, suffices to give the word a form that is sufficiently French. Occasionally it is the restoration of the original form of the Latin prefix, as in illuminer, infant, advenir, or the substitution of a semilearned suffix, as in arcade, pinçade, roulade; or again, Latin infinitives of the third conjugation were introduced by substituting the French ending -er, e. g. imprimer, appréhender, etc. Borrowings were resorted to, from a foreign tongue, of derivatives from a common etymon, e. g. alto, banque, bandit, bill, stock, cimarre. The process submits to no restrictions save the vague but very important one of conformity to the natural tendencies of pronunciation peculiar to the language.

The semantic characteristics of learned doublets can be more definitely tabulated than the phonetic. The popular doublet is generally more abstract and consequently of broader application than the learned form, which is specific and concrete in meaning. The folk-form not infrequently

pérégrin for pèlerin, confidence for confiance, copulée for couplée, fragile for frêle, etc. With Oresme it was not a question of semantic necessity to use these learned terms, but rather a predilection for scholarly appearance. The same tendency is to be observed in Rabelais; but with the latter it is probably a sly satire upon the pedants that is intended.

possesses meanings which had developed in the etymon during the Late Latin period, e. g. chose, parvis, orteil, quitte, capital; while the learned form usually connotes the Classical Latin signification. In the case of ecclesiastical doublets the learned form reflects the Church Latin, which continued to produce new meanings as late as the eighth century. The semantic extension of learned doublets within the French period is generally a negligible quantity. These learned doublets, since they are less used in common speech than the popular forms, do not undergo to the same extent the influence of folk psychology. That learned doublets may suffer a large degree of semantic change is proven by the development of words like apothicaire, pérégrin, lods, hôpital, etc. But the number of such cases is relatively small; and the examples prove, if anything, that learned doublets which are used to designate persons or things are more liable to the vicissitudes of semantic fortune than the names of abstractions, precisely as happens in the case of learned words which are not doublets.

Historically, the recorded appearance of many learned doublets antedates that of the popular form. But here our dependence upon the written language must be taken into account; even this latter has not yet been exhaustively studied from a lexical standpoint. Into the French domains one may venture with comparative assurance as a result of the data compiled since 1890; in Spanish and Italian the paths of approach are still unbroken. As far as it is at present possible to determine, the earlier appearance of the learned form has no significance except that it

seems to presuppose the unrecorded existance in the spoken language of a popular doublet which had so far diverged semantically as to give occasion to reintroduction of the term with differentiation of meaning. Provided the linguistic need proved to be real and permanent, the neologism became an integral part of the language, with at least one definite semantic value distinguishing it clearly from its folk-speech relative, though it frequently passed through an uncertain period of development before finally establishing its claim to semantic individuality. With the passage of time the learned doublet tends to become more and more stable in its position in the language, eventually growing vigorously after the manner of an indigenous term. Sometimes, its semantic direction follows that of its doublet, and it may happen that the learned form will drive out the popular form, as grave has affected grief, or cabale gabelle. But such cases are the exception and not the rule; normally the learned doublet remains highly specialized in meaning and its semantic development is slow.

## APPENDIX I

## TENTATIVE LIST OF AUTHENTIC DOUBLETS

The list of French doublets given below will be found to approach completeness; the purpose has been to present a compilation as accurate as possible from an etymological point of view, based upon the catalogues of Brachet, Michaëlis and Thomsen. The study devoted to the preparation of the list has led to the inclusion of many additional forms. Alphabetical arrangement was possible only by listing the etymon first. The date given is that of the first recorded occurrence of the word in the language so far as such information is obtainable. Recourse has been had chiefly to the *Dictionnaire général* of Hatzfeld and Darmesteter. Wherever possible, the year of occurrence is given; otherwise the century is indicated by Roman numerals.

ABACUM

ACREM
ACUTUM
ADAMANTEM
ADCOLLATA
ADJACENS<sup>46</sup>

abaque XIII abaco XVIII
abacot Neol. abacus XVIII
aigre XIII acre XII
aigu XI acut 1721
diamant XII aimant XII
accolée XII accolade 1546
aise XII [agio 1710]

<sup>46</sup> Cf. M-L., 168.

avuster XIV ajuster XVI AD-JUSTUS  $(\dot{a}+juste)$ ADJUTANTEM aidant XIII adjudant 1704 appas XIV appât XVI \*ADPASTUM avenir XI advenir XII ADVENIRE avers(e) 1873 adverse XIII ADVERSUM avis XII aviso 1690 \*AD-VISUM avoué XI avocat XII ADVOCATUM étier XIV estuaire XV AESTUARIUM affaiter XII afféter 1549 af-AFFACTARE fecter 1621 agrier XV agraire XIV AGRARIUM agrégé XII agrégat 1755 **AGGRÉGATUM** allègre 1750 allégro 1750 ALACREM alêne XII lésine 1618 ALANSA (Germanic) ALCOTON (Arabic) hoqueton XII coton XII AL-DJAZIR (Arabic) jaseran XI algérien Neol. ALKHANDJAR (Arabic) kangiar (cangiar) 1617 alfange 1636 vizir 1616 argousin 1535 ALGUAZIL (Arabic) guazil 1581 zénit XIV azimut XVI ALSEMDT (Arabic) haut XI alto 1791 ALTUM amant XVI aimant XII AMANTEM amé XI aimé XVII AMATUM amie X mie XVII AMICAM amande XIII amygdale 1503 AMYGDALAM anille XV nille XIV ANATICULAM ange XI angelus 1690 ANGELUM anglé XIII angulé 1843 ANGULATUM \*ANNATA année XV annate XV

antienne XIV antiphone XII ANTIPHONAM apprendre X appréhender XIV APPREHENDERE attitude 1653 aptitude XIV APTITUDINEM eau 1365 aigue 1611 AOUAM évier XIII aiguière XIV aqua-AOUARIUM rium 1863 aigage 1863 aquatique XIII AOUATICUM araigne XII érigne 1536 ARANEAM archée XII arcade 1566 ARCATA arche XII arc XII ARCUM aire XI are 1793 AREA armure XIII armature XV ARMATURAM artillé XII articulé XIII ARTICULATUM orteil XIII article XIII ARTICULUM âpreté XII aspérité XII ASPERITATEM assouvir XII assoupir XV \*ASSOPIRE ASSINA'A (Arabic) darse (darce) XV arsenal XIII ATICTORIZARE octroyer XI autoriser XII heur XII augure XII AUGURIUM août XII auguste XIII AUGUSTUM loriot XII auréole XIII AUREOLAM oreille XII auricule Neol. AURICULAM écouter IX ausculter 1843 AUSCULTARE aieux aieuls \*AVIOLOS bitarde (bistarde) XII outar-AVISTARDAM de XV

AXILLAM

aisselle 1309 axille XVIII

BACAM<sup>47</sup>
BATARE
BALAUSTIUM
BALNEUM
BANCUM
EAN (Germanic)
\*BANDITUM
BARCAROLLA (Italian)

BARCA
BARD (?) [Germanic]

\*BASTITA BELLUM BENEDICTUM

BERYLLUM
BILANCEM
\*BIRRETTUM<sup>48</sup>
\*BISSACUTUM
BISSEXTUM
BITUMEN
\*BLANC+ETTUS
\*BLANC+ETTA
BLASPHEMARE

BLOCKHAUS

baie XIII bague 1539
bayant XIII béant XII
balustre 1531 balauste 1314
bain XI bagne 1701
banc XI banque 1535
bannière XII bandière XIII
banni XIII bandit 1640
barcarolle XVIII barquerolle 1542
bargue XI barque 1513
bayart (baïart) XIII boyart XIII bard XIII
bâtie XIII bastide XIV

batile XIII bastide XIV
beau XI bel IX
benêt 1532 benoît XIII béni XIII bénit XIII
brille 1559 béryl XII
bilan 1617 balance XII
béret 1835 barrette 1380
besaigüe XII bisaigle 1751
bissêtre 1611 bissexte XIII
béton XIV bitume 1611
blanchet 1351 blanquet 1611
blanchette 1351 blanquette 1611
blâmer XI blasphémer XIII
blocus XVI blockhaus (obsolete) XVI

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Cf. M-L., 859. <sup>48</sup> Cf. M-L., 1117.

BOLDONE<sup>49</sup> (Italian)

bouding XIII pouding 1754

poudingue 1765

BOMBAGGINE (Italian)

basin 1642 bombasin (obsolete) 1323

BOMBYCEUM

bis XIII beige XIII

\*BORNIATA BOSCETTAM lorgnée 1530 lorgnade XVII

BOT[AN]+ATA

bouquet 1379 bosquet 1549 boutée XIII boutade 1588

BOSCOM (?)50 BRACHIA

bois XI bûche XII braques 1690 brasses XI

BREKAN BREVEM brier dialect brover XIII

BRIGATA

bref XV brief (obsolete) XII briguée 1559 brigade 1330

\*BROCETTAM<sup>51</sup>

brochette XIII broquette (dia-

BUBALUM

lect) 1565 buffle XV bubale 1771

BUCCAM \*BULGA+ETTA bouche XII bouque 1390 bougette XII budget 1764 boule XI bouille 1751 bulle

BULLAM

XIII bill 1685

BUTTEM

boute 1579 botte 1440

CABALLICATA CADENTIAM CAELOS CALATA CALLUS

chevauchée XII cavalcade XV chance XIII cadence 1540 cieux XII ciels XVII calée XII calade 1564 cal XIII calus 1539

Cf. M-L., 1192.

Cf. Z. r. Ph. xxxii, 426.

Cf. M-L., 1310.

Marie A	
CALOPOIOS (Greek)52	garbe 1539 galbe 1539
*CAMERATA	chambrée 1539 camarade 1580
*CAMERARE	chambrer 1680 cambrer 1530
CAMPANIAM	champagne 1400 campagne 1535
CAMPUM	champ XI camp 1521
CANALEM	chéneau XII chenal XI ca- nal XIII
CANCELLUM	chanceau XII chancel XII cancel XII
CANCER	chancre 1315 cancre XIII can- cer 1550
CANICULAM	chenille 1330 canicule XVI
CANNAM	chane XII canne XIII
CANONICUM	chanoine XI canonique XIII
CANTATA	chantée XII cantate 1718
CANTH[UM]ATA	cantonée 1377 cantonnade XVII
CAPANNA	cabane 1462 cabine 1783
caparazón (Spanish)	caparasse XVIII caparaçon 1498
CAPPELLANUM	chapelain XIII capelan 1529
CAPITALE	cheptel XI capital 1365
CAPITANEUM	capitan 1680 capitaine XIII
CAPITELLUM	chapiteau XII cadeau 1416 cadet XV
CAPITULUM	chapitre XII capitoul 1611
CAPPONEM	chapon XII capon 1690
CAPPAM	chape XII cape XV

<sup>62</sup> Cf. M-L., 1524.

chevreuil XI cabriole 1580 CAPREOLUM capréole Neol. châsse XIII casse 1539 cap-CAPSAM se 1533 caisse 1559 chétif XII captif 1488 CAPTIVUM chable XII câble XV CAPULUM chableau dialect câbleau (câ-\*CAPULELLUM blot) 1530 chef IX cap XIII CAPUM charbonée XII carbonnade 1539 \*CARBONATA charbon XIII carbone 1787 CARBONEM charbouille 1791 escarboucle XI CARBUNCULUM<sup>53</sup> carbouille dialect chair X carne Neol. CARNEM charogne XII carogne 1390 \*CARONIAM charger XI carguer 1830 \*CARRICARE Chatrier 1370 cartulaire 1340 CARTULARIUM chez XII case XIII CASAM chalet 1723 châtelet XII \*CASTELLETUM château XI castel 1734 CASTELLUM châtré 1653 castrat 1770 CASTRATUM chafaud XII catafalque 1690 CATAFALCUM chaîne XIII cadène 1540 CATENAM chaise 1420 chaire XII CATHEDRAM chose IX cause XII CAUSAM chever XI caver 1456 CAVARE

CAVEAM

CENTENARIUM

gabie 1539 cage XII

centenaire XIV centenier XV

<sup>68</sup> Cf. M-L., 1677.

cérise XII kirsch Neol. \*CERESEAM ciré XII cérat 1585 CERATUM charte XI carte XIV CHARTAM colère 1512 choléra (coléra) CHOLERAM XVI crétin 1754 chrétien IX CHRISTIANUM chiche XII chique 1642 CICCUM CIFRA (Arabic) chiffre XIII zéro 1515 chamarre 1589 cimarre 1642 CIMARRA (Italian) samarre 1447 cintrer 1349 ceintrer XIV CINCTURARE ceiturer XIV sanglée XII sanglade 1539 CINGULATA cep (sep) XIII cippe 1718 CIPPUM cèpe 1835 guitare XVI cistre XVI ci-CITHARA thare 1377 cloître XII clostre Neol. CLAUSTRUM cheville XII clavicule 1541 CLAVICULAM cailler XII coaguler XIII COAGULARE cochenille 1599 coccinelle 1791 \*COCCINELLAM cuisson XIII coction 1503 COCTIONEM cément 1611 ciment XIV COEMENTUM cour X cohorte 1362 COHORTEM cueiller XIII colliger 1559 COLLIGERE coucher XI colloquer XII COLLOCARE cou XIII col XI COLLUM cologne 1362 colonie 1362 COLONIAM

COLPHOS

gouffre XIII golfe XIII

COMITATUM	comté XI comité 1690 comtat dial.
COMITEM	comte X comit XIII
COMMUNICARE	communier X communiquer 1377
*COMPANIO	compain XI copain XIX
COMPLETAS	complètes XV complies XII
COMPOSITOREM	composteur 1680 compositeur XIII
COMPOSITUM	compote XII composite 1545
COMPOSITUS	compôt XVII compost Neol.
COMPUTARE	conter XII compter XIII
COMPUTUM	conte XIII compte XIII comput 1690
CONCHAM	conche 1762 conque 1505
CONFIDENTIAM	confiance XIII confidence 1377
CONTINENTIAM	contenance XI continence XIII
CONTRACTUM	contrat XIV contracte 1548
COPHINUM	coffre XII coffin XIII couf-
	fe 1723
COPULAM	couple XII copule 1690
COQUUM	coq XII queux XV
CONSUETUDINEM	coutume XI costume 1676
CRASSUM	gras XII crasse 1529
CRISPARE	crêper XII crisper 1798
CROATAM	cravate 1652 croate XVIII
CRUCIATA	croisée XII croisade 1535
CRYPTAM	grotte 1559 crypte 1721
CUCULLAM	coule XII cagoule XIII cu- culle 1512

CUCUBRITAM	courge 1370 gourde (courde) XIII cucurbite XIV
CULCITAM	coite XII couette XII
CULTELLUM	couteau XIII coutel XII coutille XIV
CUMULARE	combler XI cumuler 1362
CUPULAM	coupole 1690 cupule 1798
DACTYLUM	datte XII dactyle XIV
*DE-AURATA	dorée XIII dorade (daurade) 1539
DEDICATIONEM	ducasse XII dédicace 1549
DELECTANTEM	dilettante 1878 délectant 1377
DENARIUM	denier XI denaire XVI
DENUDATUS	dénué XII dénudé 1790
DESIGNARE	dessiner XIV désigner XVI
DESIGNUM	dessin 1549 dessein XV
DICTUM	dit XII dicton 1516 dictum 1475
DIGITALE	dé 1348 digitale 1545
DILUVIUM	déluge XII diluvium Neol.
DIOUAN (Arabic)	douane 1421 divan 1558
DIRECTUM	droit X direct XIII
DISCUM	dais XII disque 1556
DISJEJUNARE	dîner XII déjeuner XIII
DISTRICTUM	détroit XII district 1611 dé- tret 1701
DIURNALE	journal XII diurnal XVIII
DIVINUM	devin XII divin XII
DIVISARE	deviser XIII diviser XII

duègne 1663 dame XI DOMINAM demoiselle X donzelle XII \*DOMINICELLAM dame X dom XI DOMINUM douer XIII doter XIII DOTARE duché XII ducat 1395 DUCATUM duc XI doge 1642 DUCEM douille XVI ductile XIII DUCTILEM deux XI duo 1616 DUOS ivraie XV imbriaque XIX **EBRIACAM** olifant XI éléphant XII ELEPHANTEM plâtre piastre 1611 **EMPLASTRUM** évêché XI épiscopat 1669 **EPISCOPATUS** épistolier 1535 épistolaire 1542 **EPISCOPATUM** hérisson XII oursin 1611 ERICIUM exaucer XVI exhausser XII \*EXALTIARE exalter X essaim XIII examen 1372 **EXAMEN** échappée 1475 escapade 1588 EXCAPPATA

EXCAPPATA

EXHALATIONEM

EXPLICITUM

EXPRESSUM \*EX-QUADRAM

EXSUCARE

FABRICAM FABRICARE plicit Neol.
exprès XIII express Neol.
équerre XII escadre 1473 escouade 1553 square Neol.
essuyer XIII essucquer 1490

exhalaison XIV exhalation 1377

exploit XI explicite XVI ex-

échappade 1755

forge XII fabrique 1362 forger XII fabriquer XIII

FABULARE	hâbler 1542 fabuler (obsolete) XII
FACTICIUM	factice 1690 fétiche 1688
FACTIONEM	façon XIII faction 1362 fashion Neol.
FALCARE	faucher XIII falquer 1690
FALLERE	faillir XI falloir XII
FANI (Gothic)	fange XII fagne Neol.
FASCIAM	faisse 1365 fasce XII fascie
-i. #4	1011
*FATIDUM <sup>54</sup>	fat 1552 fade XII
FERIAM	foire XII férie XII
FESTUCAM	fétu XI fétuque 1786
FIDELEM	féal XII fidèle 1539
FIDELITATEM	féauté (obsolete) XII fidélité XV
*FILATOREM	fileur XIII filateur 1835
*FILICELLAM	ficelle XIV fincelle 1796
FILIOS	fils X fieux dial. (fifis)
FILTAR (Germanic)	feutre XI filtre 1580
FLACCUM	flache XIV flaque 1718 flasque 1642 .
FLAGELLUM	fléau 1350 flagelle Neol.
FLAMMAM	flambe 1314 flamme X
FLAMMANTEM	flambant 1553 flammant (obsolete) X
ET EDIT EM	faible XI flébile Neol.
FLEBILEM	floc XII floche XVI
FLOCCUM	HOC AII HOCHE AVI

<sup>64</sup> Cf. M-L., 3223.

FLOR [ERE] + ISSANT florissant XIII fleurissant XI fon XII fol XI FOLLEM fors X hors XI FORIS formé XI format 1723 FORMATUM fur XII for XIII forum 1762 FORUM frêle XI fragile 1377 FRAGILEM FRISC (Germanic) frais XI fresque XVII foison XII fusion 1653 FUSIONEM joue XII jatte GABATAM \*GALLETAM jalet 1478 galet XII jambe XII gambe 1771 GAMBAM iambée 1765 gambade 1480 **GAMBATA** jouir XI gaudir XIII GAUDERE gaze 1553 Gaze XII GAZA iumeaux XII gémaux 1580 GEMELLI geindre XIII gémir XIII GEMERE glaïeul XV gladiole Neol. GLADIOLUM glai 1653 glaive X GLADIUM grive XIV grièche XII GRAECAM que XII grègue XV grimoire XII galimatias 1592 GRAMMATICAM grammaire XII grenée XII grenade XII GRANATA grief XI grave XV GRAVEM griffer 1386 gripper 1454 grim-GRIFAN (Germanic) per XV griffe XV grippe XIII grip GRIF AN

HASTELLAM

attelle XII esteille XIII

ételle XIX

HEBDOMADARIUM

HISPANIOLUM

hébdomadier 1511 hébdoma-

daire 1625

étique XIII hectique XVIII HECTICUM

mine XV hémine XVII HEMINAM

héritier XII héréditaire XV HEREDICTARIUM épagneul XIV espagnol XII

homme X hombre 1694 HOMINEM

or X heure X HORAM<sup>55</sup>

hôpital XII hôtel XI HOSPITALEM

rang XI harangue 1428 HRING (Germanic)

humeur XII humour Neol. HUMOREM jacinthe XI hvacinte 1572 za-HVACINTHUM

cvnthe Neol.

TT.T.A ILLE

ILLUMINARE

\*IMBOSCATA

\*IMBRACHIATA

IMMOBILEM IMPLICITAM

INCARNATUM INCLINATIONEM

INCRASSARE

INCRUSTARE

INDICUM

elle IX la IX il IX le X

enluminer XI illuminer XII embusquée XV embuscade 1549 embrassée XI embrassade 1500 immeuble XIII immobile XIII emplette XIII implicite 1540 incarné 1372 incarnat 1539 inclinaison 1694 inclination 1377

encrasser XII engraisser XI encroûter 1539 incruster XVI

inde XIII indigo 1658

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Z. r. Ph., i, 431.

INDURATUM	enduré XI induré XV
INFANTEM	enfant X infant 1407
*INFILATA	enfilée XIII enfilade 1642
*INGENIARE	engeigner XI ingénier 1429
INQUISITOREM	enquêteur XIII inquisiteur 1404
INSIGNIA	enseigne XI insigne 1484
INTEGER	entier XII intègre 1567
INTENDENTEM	entendant XII intendant 1591
INVERSUM	envers XI inverse 1611

JACOPUS	Jaques 1357 jockey 1777
JUNCTAM	jointe XII junte XVIII
JUNCUM	jonchet 1483 honchet Neol.
	onchet Neol.

JUSTITIAM	justesse 1611	justice XI
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Kabbalah	gabelle 134	2 cabale 153	9
кајшт (Dutch)	cahute XII	I cajute 1642	2
KRUPPA <sup>56</sup> (Germanic)	croupe XI	groupe 1676	group
	1723		

Lambellum	lambeau XIII lambel XIII
LACERTUM	lézard XII alligator 1751
LACUNE	lagune 1701 lacune 1570
LAICUM	laï 1180 laïque 1540
LAMINATUM	lamé 1723 laminé 1596
LAPPON (Germanic)	laper XII lamper 1665
LARGA	large XI largue 1611

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Cf. Z. r. Ph. xxxii, 37.

lest XIII last (laste) 1762 LAST (Dutch) los XI lods XII **LAUS** laisser IX lâcher XI LAXARE ladre XII Lazare XI LAZARUM loval XI légal 1377 LEGALEM légué 1549 légat XII **LEGATUS** lent XI lento XVII LENTUM liève XIII lève 1680 LEVAT livrer XII libérer 1642 LIBERARE lier X liguer 1564 LIGARE liaison XIII ligation Neol. LIGATIONEM liure XII ligature XIV LIGATURAM LISTA (Germanic) liste XII litre XII LOT (Germanic) lot XII loto 1798 MACARONI macaron 1539 macaroni 1650 maille XI macule 1488 MACULAM macle 1584 maître X magister X MAGISTER mistral 1519 magistral 1449 MAGISTRALE majeur XI major 1539 MATOREM maire XII mage (maje) XV MAJOR mandé X mandat 1492 MANDATUM MANSIONEM maison XI mansion XIII

dère

marinée 1642

marche XI marque XV

marteau XI martel XVI mâcher 1470 mastiquer XVI

madrier 1382 matière XII ma-

marinade 1611

MARKA (Germanic)

MARINATA

MARTELLUM

MASTICARE

MATERIAM

MATRICULARIUM	marguillier XII matriculaire 1752
MATUTINALEM	matinal XII matutinal 1377
MAXILLARIS	mâchelier XII maxillaire 1541
MЕ	me IX moi X
MEA DOMINA	madame XII madone 1671
MEDIANUM	moyen XII médian 1425
MEDIUM	mi XI médium 1588 mezzo XVII
MENSAM	moise 1762 manse (mense) XV
MERCURIALEM	mercuriel 1762 mercurial 1690
METALLEAM	maille XII médaille 1494
MINISTERIALEM	ménestrel XI ministériel XVI ménétrier XIV
MINISTERIUM	métier X ministère 1540
MINUTAM	menue XI minute XII
MISSAM	mise XIII messe XIII
MISSUM	mets XII mess Neol.
MOBILEM	meuble XIII mobile XIV
MODULUM	moule XII module 1547
MODUM	moeuf 1377 la mode XV le
	mode 1611
MOLAREM	meulière 1611 molaire 1548
MOLLEM	mou XII mol XII
MONASTERIUM	moutier XI monastère XIV
MOVERE	mouvoir XII mouver 1550
MUSCATAM	muguette XIII moscade XIII
	musquée XVI
MUSCATUM	musqué XVI muscat XIV

MUSCULUM moule XV muscle XIV muscule XIV

NARANG (Persian) orange 1314 oronge 1793 NATALEM noël XII natal 1513 NATIVUM naïf XII natif 1362

NAVIGARE nager 1530 naviguer 1516
NEBULAM nieule (neuble) XII nèble XIV

NECATA noyée XII noyade 1794
NIGELLAM nielle XII nigelle 1700
NIGRUM noir XII nègre 1529

NODUS noeud XIII nodus 1575 node

NON ne IX non X

NOVELLUM nouvelle XI novelle XV
NOVELLUM nouveau XII nouvel XII
NUMERUM nombre XII numéro 1592
NYCK (Dutch) niche 1620 nique XIV

Oculos veux XII oeils X

OFFICIALEM Officiel 1791 official XIII
ODORATUM Odoré XII odorat 1575
OLLAM Oule XII oille 1652
OPERA OEUVRE XII OPÉRA XVII
OPERARE OUVRE XIII OPÉRE 1530

OVUM oeuf XIV ove 1676 OSSIFRAGAM orfraie 1555 ossifrague Neol.

ORGANUM orgue XIII organe XII ar-

gue 1680

ORDINEM orne XII ordre XI

PALAM pelle XIII pale 1355

PALATA	palée 1415 palade 1732
PALATINUM	paladin 1582 palatin 1428
PALISATA	palissée 1417 palissade XV
PALMAM	paume XIII palme 1403
PALUMBUM	palombe 1530 palonne Neol.
PALUM	pieu XIII pal XII
PAMPINUM	pampre XV pampe 1762
PANARIUM	panier XIII panaire 1812
*PANATA	panée XVI panade 1573
PANDURAM	mandore XIII pandore XVI
PANNUM	pan XI panne XIII pagne 1650
PANNONUM	penon XII pennon 1370
PANNONCELLUM	pennonceau XIII panonceau
	1444
PAPILIONEM	pavillon XII papillon XIII
PAPYRUM	papier XIII papyrus XVI
PARABOLAM	parole XI parabole XIII pa-
	labre XV
PARAGRAPHUM	parafe XV paragraphe XIII
	patarafe Neol.
PARADISUM	parvis XIII paradis XI
PARATA	parée XI parade 1545
PARIATA	pariée XV pariade 1690
PARTEM <sup>57</sup>	par XVII part IX
PARTIALEM	partiel 1762 partial 1377
*PASSATA	passée XIII passade 1486
PASTILLUM	pastel 1510 pastille 1561

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Par in de par le roi by confusion of partPARTEM with parPER.

poêle XIII patelle 1555 pa-PATELLAM yelle XIII pose 1694 pause 1390 PAUSAM peignée XII pectinée Neol. PECTINATA péon XV pédon 1762 pion XII PEDONEM pincée XII pincade XVI PENICATA pinceau XIII pénicille XV PENICILLUM peser XI penser XI pan-PENSARE ser XII poids XII pensum 1762 PENSUM pèlerin XI pérégrin 1377 PEREGRINUM pers XI pêche XII presse 1539 PERSICUM persique 1798 persicot 1692 planche XII phalange XIV PHALANCEM palan 1323 palanche XIII palanque 1323 fantasque 1588 fantastique XIV PHANTASTICUM pitié XII piété XII PIETATEM PIFER (Germanic) piffe 1639 fifre 1515 piment XIII pigment XII PIGMENTUM pelée XI pelade 1545 PILATA peloux XIII pileux 1539 pe-PILOSUM louse 1611 poileux Neol. pelu XV poilu XVI poivré XIII poivrade 1505 PIPERATA pépie XIV pituite 1541 PITUITAM plaire XI plaisir XI PLACERE plaît XI placet 1493 plaid IX placite XVII PLACET PLACITUM plaine XI plane 176? PLANAM

plantée XIII plantade XVIII PLANTATA plain XII plan 1553 piano PLANIIM. 1611 plane XVII platane 1535 PLATANUM plier X ployer XII PLICARE pouacre XII podagre 1507 PODAGRUM poche XII poque 1326 рокко (Germanic) \*POK KO -ATA pochée XIII pochade Neol. pouillé 1650 polyptique 1732 POLYPTICUM poulpe XIII polype XIII pieu-POLYPUM vre Dial. pommée 1545 pommade 1611 POMATA porche XII portique 1564 PORTICUM poison XII potion XIII POTIONEM provende XIII prébende 1365 PRAEBENDAM prêt XI preste XVII pres-PRAESTUM to XVII prière XII précaire 1336 PRECARIAM prison XII préhension 1798 PREHENSIONEM premier XII primaire XVIII PRIMARIUM procureur XIII procurateur PROCURATOREM XIII Provence XIV province XIII Provinciam provençal XIII provincial XIII PROVINCIALEM psautier XII psaltérion XIII PSALTERIUM poincon XIII ponction XIII PUNCTIONEM point XII ponte 1718 PUNCTUM

**PYXIDEM** 

boîte XII buste 1723

Quadragesimam	carême XII quadragésime 1680
QUADRARE	carrer XII cadrer 1539
QUADRATURAM	carrure XII cuadrature 1529
QUADRATUM	carré XII cadré 1539 cadrat
	1765 quadrat 1532
QUAMQUAM	cancan XVI quanquam (quan-
	quan) 1515
QUATERNAM	caserne XVI carme XIII
QUATUOR	quatre XI quatuor 1835
QUIETUM	coi XII quitte XI
QUINTANAM	quintaine XII quintane XVI
*Ranunculam	grenouille XII renoncule 1549
RASATA	rasée 1529 rasade 1680
RASUM	rez XIII ras 1429
RATIONEM	raison X ration 1376
*REBURSUM <sup>58</sup>	rebours XII rebrousse XII
*RECENTARE <sup>59</sup>	rechinser XIII rincer XII
RECIPIENTEM	recevant XI récipient 1554
RECOLLECTAM	récolte 1561 récollette 1468

REDEMPTIONEM

RECOLLIGERE

RECUPERARE

\*REFUSARE

REDUCTUM REGALATA

REGALEM

RESPECTUM

récolte 1561 récollette 1468 recueillir XI recolliger 1377 recouvrer XI récupérer 1578 ruser XII refuser XI rançon XII rédemption XII redoute 1616 réduit XIII régalée 1420 régalade 1798 royal X régal XIII répit XII respect 1374

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Cf. A. L. L., v, 234. <sup>59</sup> Cf. R., xxvii, 204; Z. r. Ph., xxvii, 344.

riorte XII retorte 1485 re-RETORTUM dorte 1556

revancher XIII revendiquer REVENDICARE

1437 revenger Neol.

raide XI rigide 1542 RIGIDUM rime XII rythme 1520 RHYTHMUM

rosier XIII rosaire 1611 ROSARIUM rosé XIII rosat XII ROSATUS

roue XII rote 1560 ROTAM ronde XII rotonde 1556 ROTUNDAM \*ROTULARE60 rôler 1690 rouler XII

roulée Neol. \*ROTULATA roulade 1622

rôle XII rotule 1541 ROTULUM rouanne XIII rugine 1580 RUGINAM

bruire XI rugir XII RUGIRE bruit XII rut 1609 RUGITUM

route XII raout (rout) Neol. RUPTAM

roture XII rupture XIV RUPTURAM ruche XIII rouche XVIII \*RUSCAM rustre XIV rustique 1362 RUSTICUM

serment XI sacrement IX SACRAMENTUM salée XIII salade XIV SALVIAM sauge XIII salvia Neol. SALVIA sade XIII sapide XVIII SAPIDUM savonnière XIV saponaire 1798 SAPONARIAM

cercueil XI sarcophage XIV SARCOPHAGUM échevin XIII scabin XVI SCABINUM

<sup>60</sup> Cf. M-L., 7396-7.

échelle XIII escale 1539 SCALAM échalier XIII escalier 1564 SCALARIUM SCALTA (Gothic) écaille XIII écale XII esclandre XII scandale XVI SCANDALUM SCARP (Germanic) écharpe XI escarpe XVI escalin XIV SCELLAN (Germanic) schelling Neol. échec XII schah XVIII SCHAH choc 1539 choque 1680 SCHOKKEN (Germanic) SCINTILLARE étinceler XII scintiller XIII écropelles XIII scrofules 1545 SCROFULAS se IX soi XII SE sciante XII sécante 1542 SECANTEM scieur XIII sécateur Neol. SECATOREM séculier XII séculaire 1550 SECULARIUM sieur XV seigneur IX SENIOREM sevrer XI séparer 1314 SEPARARE sèche XII sépia XII SEPIAM serge XII sérique Neol. SERICAM satinée 1690 satinade 1718 \*SETINATA sifflée XII sifflade XVI SIFILATA scellée XI sigillée 1609 SIGILLATA seing XII signe XII SIGNUM sembler XI simuler XIV SIMULARE sanglier XII singulier XII SINGULAREM sénestre XI sinistre XIV SINISTRAM sein XII sinus 1541 SINUS sieste 1630 sexte 1611 six-SIXTA te XVII skina (Germanic) échine XI esquine 1690 écoute XV écot XII sкот (Germanic)

SKOPA (Germanic) écope 1413 escope Dial. SLAVUM esclave XIII Slave XVI SODA (English) soude 1527 soda Neol. soucier XIII solliciter 1332 SOLLICITARE souder XIII solder 1723 SOLIDARE soudé XIII soldé 1723 sol-SOLIDATUM dat 1549 sou XII solide 1529 solde XIII SOLIDUM seul X solo 1703 SOLUM sonnée XI sonate 1718 SONATA sort XII sorte 1452 SORTEM épée X espade 1747 spathe SPATHAM 1798 épaule XI spatule XIV espa-SPATHULAM le 1647 épice XI espère XIII SPECIEM épingle XIII spinule Neol. SPINULAM esprit XII spirite Neol. SPIRITUM

étanchant XII stagnant 1611

attacher XI attaquer 1590

estampe XIV stampe Neol.

étaim XII estame XIII

étain XII tain 1694

étal XI stalle 1611

étage XI stage 1680

astic XVI estèque XVI

éteule XII stipule 1798

éter X ester X

STAGNANTEM STAGNUM

STAKKA (Gothic)

STALLUM STAMEN STAMPAM

STARE STATICUM

STICH STIPULAM<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Cf. M-L., 8265.

M T Poés

STIPULARI Étioler 1704 stipuler 1325

STOC ÉtOC XII estoc XII étau 1611

STOREAM ESTÈRE 1723 STORE 1676

STRICTUM ÉTROIT XI STRICTE XVII STRET
te 1590

\*STUPPATA Étouffée 1752 Étouffade 1835

\*STUPPATA étouffée 1752 étouffade 1835 étuvée XV

SUBVENIRE SOUVENIR XI SUBVENIR 1539
\*SUCCUT[ERE]—ATA SECOUÉE 1539 SECOUADE XVI
SUFFLATATA SOUFFLEÉE 1549 SOUFLETADE 1650
SUPERANUM SOUVERAIN XI SOPRANO 1781
\*SUPERCARRICAM SURCHARGE 1512 SUBFÉCARGUE

1704

SUPERFINUM Surfin Neol. superfin 1704
SUPERSALTUM SURSAUT XII SOUDRESAUT 1409
SURGERE SOURDER XII SURGIR 1548
SUSPICIONEM SOUDÇON XII SUSPICION XII
SYRINGAM SERINGUE XIII SYRINGA 1798 SÉringa 1718 Syringe Neol.
SYRING Neol.

TABULAM<sup>62</sup> tôle 1842 table XI taule Neol.
TACTUM tac XVI tact XIV
TAENIAM ténie XVII ténia XV
TAIKKA (Gothic) tache XI tacque XVII
TALIATA taillée X taillade 1532
TAPPO (Germanic) tapon 1382 tampon 1534

<sup>62</sup> Cf. A. L. L., vi, 118.

46	
targa (Germanic)	targe XI tarque 1542
TAXAM	tâche XII tasque XIII taxe
	1539 taux 1366
TAXARE	tâcher XIII taxer XVI
TE	te X toi XI
*TEL[A]+ETTA	toilette 1479 tellette 1352
TEGULA	tuile XIII tuque (Marine) tégule Neol.
TEMPERARE	tremper XII tempérer XII
TENOREM	téneur XIII ténor 1762
TENSIONEM	tenson XV tension 1580
TEPIDUM	tiède XII tépide Neol.
TERRATA	terrée XII terrade Neol.
TERRITORIUM	terroir XIII territoire 1385
THECAM	taie XVI thèque Neol.
THYRSUM	trou dial. torse 1676 thyrse
	1490
TIBIAM	tige XI tibia 1588
TINGEL (Germanic)	trangles 1611 tringles 1328
*TIRACULARE	trailler 1486 tirailler 1550
*TIRARE	tirée XI tirade 1550
ток (Germanic)	toquée XV toccata XVIII to-
	quade Neol.
ток (Germanic)	toucher XI toquer XV
TORF (Germanic)	tourbe XIII turf Neol.
TORGOMAN (Turkish)	drogman 1564 trucheman XII
TORQUERE	tordre torquer
TORQUES	torche XII torque XII
*TORSARE	torser XI trousser XI

*tors+ata	torsée XII torsade 1835 trous- sée XI				
TORTAM	tourte XIII tarte XIII				
TRANSITUM	transe XII transit 1663				
TRIMODIAM	trémie 1412 trémue 1395				
TRIPALIUM	travails travaux				
TROTTON (Germanic)					
TROVATOREM	trouveur 1519 trouvère XII troubadour 1575				
TUNNELLUM	tonneau XII tunnel Neol.				
TOTUM	tout IX toton 1611				
TYMPANUM	timbre XII tympan XII tympanon 1680				
Umbilicum	nombril XII ombilic 1556				
UNGULAM	ongle XI ongule Neol.				
UNGULATA	onglée XIV onglade XVI ongulée 1835				
UPUPAM	houppe 1409 huppe XII				
VAGINAM	gaine XIII vagin 1677				
VALENTEM	vaillant XI valant XIV				
VALLEM	vau XII val XI				
VARIOLAM	vérole XIII variole XIV				
VENTOSAM	ventouse 1314 venteuse XII ventôse 1794				
VERMICELLI	vermisseau XIII vermicelle 1675				
VERSUM	vers XI verso 1718 verse 1762				
*VERSATA	versée 1540 versade 1677				
VERTIBULAM	vervelle XII vertevelle XIII				

VETULUM vieil vieux

VIATICUM voyage XI viatique 1470

VICARIUM viguier XIII voyer XI vicai-

re XII

VIGILIAM veille XII vigile XII vigie

1722

VIGILANTEM veillant XII vigilant XVI

VILLA ville X villa XVIII

VINDICARE venger X vendiquer XV

VIPERAM guivre XI vive XIII vipère

1314

VIRGAM verge XI vergue 1369
VIRTUOSUM vertueux XI virtuose XVII

VITRUM VERRE XII VITRE XIII

VOCALEM VOYELLE XIII VOCAL XIII

VOLUTAM VOÛTE XII VOÎTE 1550

VOTARE VOUER XII VOTER XVII

WARANTUM garant XI warrant 1671 wrack (English) varec XII vrac 1435

# APPENDIX II

# TENTATIVE LIST OF PSEUDO-DOUBLETS

The list below comprises those groups of words which have been included in previous lists of French doublets but which have been omitted from the preceding list, since it is quite certain that one or more of the terms of each pseudo-doublet group is in reality a synthetic form, while the remaining term (or terms) is a direct borrowing from the Latin etymon indicated.

ARRESTATOREM

abrégeur 1530 abréviateur XV

I LODKE VINI OKEM	dbiegedi 1559 dbieviducus 22 v			
*ADFICARE	afficher XI affiquer dial.			
AD-VALLEM	avau XII aval XI			
*ALTITIAM	hautesse XII altesse 1500			
APOTHECARIUM	boutiquier XIII apothicaire			
	XIII			
*appelum	appeau XV appel XIII			
ARCARE	archer XIII arquer XVI			
AURICULARIUM	oreiller XI auriculaire 1535			
*Bastonnata	bâtonnée 1611 bastonnade 1512			
Caballariam	chevalerie XI cavalerie 1566			
CABALLARIUM	chevalier XI cavalier 1535			

chausson XII caleçon 1575 CALCEONUM chambrier XII camérier 1680 CAMERARIUM canaille 1539 chiennaille XIII CANALIAM chapitrer XV capituler 1377 CAPITULARE charité X cherté X CARITATEM charnier XIII carnier XI car-CARNARIUM naire Neol. sangler XII cingler XIV CINGULARE cercler 1529 circuler 1377 CIRCULARE cueillette XIII collecte XIII COLLECTAM confort XI comfort 1840 CONFORTEM contant XII constant 1362 CONSTANTEM coupler XII copuler 1377 COPULARE griller XIII graticuler 1671 CRATICULARE créance XI crovance 1377 CREDENTIAM crédence XIV

CURSARIUM coursier XIII corsaire XV

DECADENTIAM déchéance XII décadence 1413 doyenné XIII décanat 1690 DECANATUM dévoyer XII dévier 1377 DEVIARE délivrer XII délibérer 1445 DELIBERARE dérocher XI \*DISROCCARE déroquer 1459 dentier 1611 dentaire 1700 DENTARIUM dépriser XII déprécier 1762 DEPRETIARE dépenser XV dispenser XIII DISPENSARE duit (duis) XII doit XII DUCTUM

\*Ex-caudatum exfoliare écoué XII écaudé Neol. effeuiller XIV exfolier 1580

EXPLICATUM	éployé XV expliqué XIV
EXPRIMERE	épreindre XIII exprimer XII
FLUCTUATIONEM	flottaison 1446 fluctuation XII
*FORTIATUM	forcé XI forçat 1548
FUGAM	fuie XII fugue 1611 fougue 1588
Implicare	employer XI impliquer XIV
IMPRIMERE	empreindre XII imprimer 1362
*IMBOSCARE	embûcher XII embusquer XV
INCLAVARE	enclouer XII enclaver XIII
INCLUDERE	enclore XI inclure XV
INDUCERE	enduire XIII induire XIV
*INROTULARE	enrôler XIII enrouler 1421
INTERPAUSARE	entreposer XIII interposer 1362
LIBERATIONEM	livraison XII libération XIV
*Masticatorium	mâchicatoire 1690 - masticatoire 1539
	re 1 <b>5</b> 39
Numerarium	nombrier XII numéraire 1752
Numerarium nutritionem	10 1007
- 1 0 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1	nombrier XII numéraire 1752
NUTRITIONEM	nombrier XII numéraire 1752 nourrisson XII nutrition 1377
NUTRITIONEM  OCULARIUM	nombrier XII numéraire 1752 nourrisson XII nutrition 1377 oeillère XII oculaire 1549 oeillade 1460 oculée XVIII oeillée XVIII
NUTRITIONEM OCULARIUM OCULATA	nombrier XII numéraire 1752 nourrisson XII nutrition 1377 oeillère XII oculaire 1549 oeillade 1460 oculée XVIII oeillée XVIII patouille 1516 patrouille 1539
NUTRITIONEM OCULARIUM OCULATA PATTOLIAM	nombrier XII numéraire 1752 nourrisson XII nutrition 1377 oeillère XII oculaire 1549 oeillade 1460 oculée XVIII oeillée XVIII patouille 1516 patrouille 1539 péronnelle XVII Pétronille XVI
NUTRITIONEM OCULARIUM OCULATA PATTOLIAM PETRONILLA	nombrier XII numéraire 1752 nourrisson XII nutrition 1377 oeillère XII oculaire 1549 oeillade 1460 oculée XVIII oeillée XVIII patouille 1516 patrouille 1539
NUTRITIONEM  OCULARIUM OCULATA  PATTOLIAM PETRONILLA PRAEDICATOREM	nombrier XII numéraire 1752 nourrisson XII nutrition 1377 oeillère XII oculaire 1549 oeillade 1460 oculée XVIII oeillée XVIII patouille 1516 patrouille 1539 péronnelle XVII Pétronille XVI prêcheur XIII prédicateur XIV

PROVIDENTIAM	pourvoyance XII providence XII
PULSATIVUM	poussif XIII pulsatif XIV
PUNCTUARE	pointer XIII ponctuer 1513
Quadrantem	carrant XII cadran XIII
QUAESTOREM	questeur XIII questeur 1539
RADIATUM	rayé XII radié Neol.
REFUGIUM	refui XII refuge XII
REGULATOREM	régleur 1611 régulateur 1771
RELAXARE	relaisser XII relaxer 1390 re layer XIII
RENEGATUM	renié X renégat XVI
REPLICARE	replier XIII répliquer XIII reployer XIII
RETORQUERE	retordre XIII rétorquer 1362
Sabularium	sablier 1680 sabulaire Neol.
*SCALJA+ER	écailler XIII écaler 1549
SCHOLAREM	écolier XII scholaire (scolaire) Neol.
SECURITATEM	sûreté XII sécurité 1588
TABULARIUM	tablier XII tabulaire Neol.
TORTUTUM	tortu 1314 tordu 1690
*Vitrinum	voirine 1355 verrine XII vi-

\*Vitrinum voirine 1355 verrine XII vitrine Neol.

votum voeu XII vote XVII

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<sup>\*</sup> As Collin's Bibliographical Guide serves as the basis for investigation in this subject, I have prefaced the list with this important litle. For the detailed hibliography of the subject before 1914 the Bibliographical Guide is fairly exhaustive. An effort has been made to include all important works which have appeared since the date of Collin's publication; the more important of the latter's titles have been repeated here.

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